NEW JULFA

The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings

by

JOHN CARSWELL

CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD
1968

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Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1
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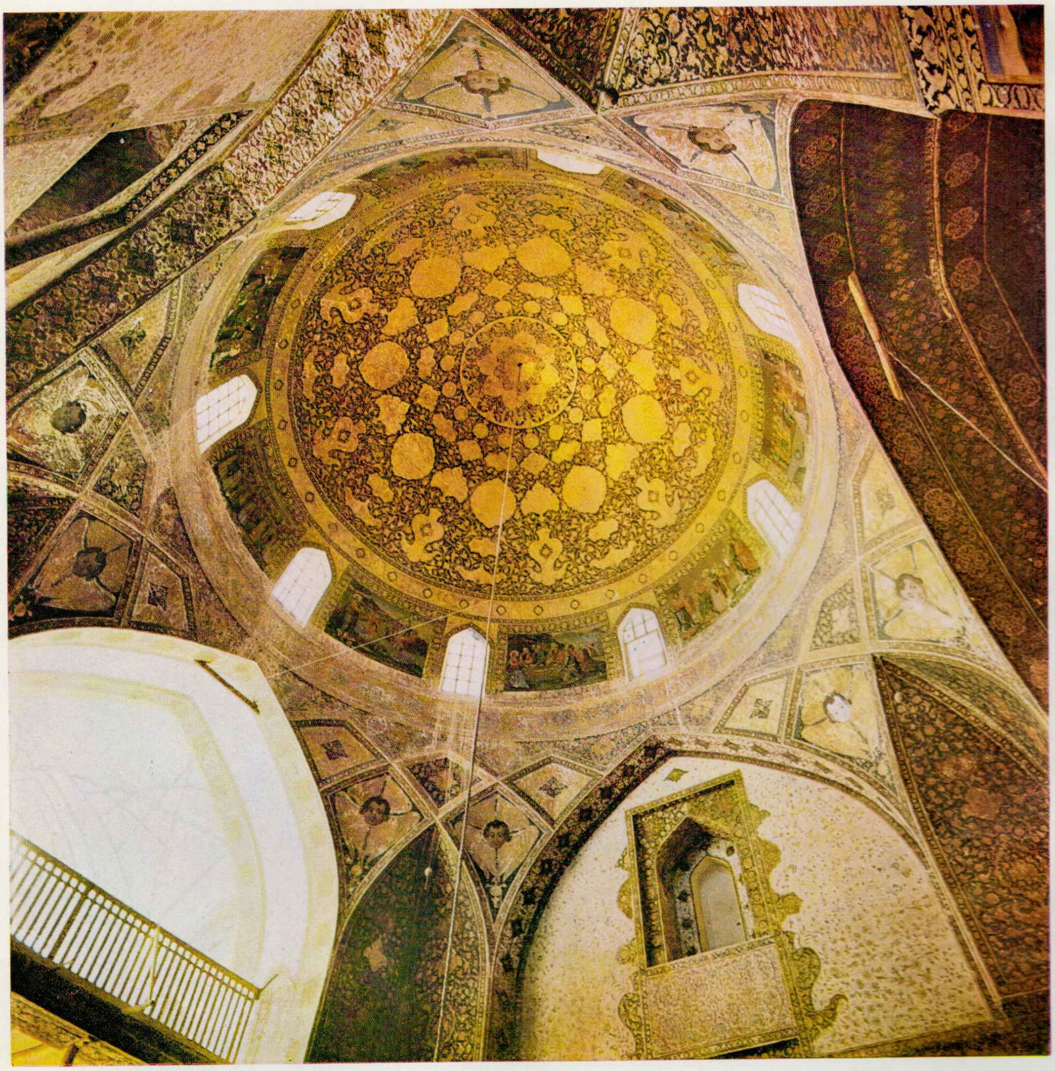
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



1. THE BETHLEHEM CHURCH interior of the dome looking NW.

FOREWORD

THE Armenian community of new Julfa was established by Shah Abbas I on the outskirts of Isfahan in the first years of the seventeenth century. In recent times it has dwindled rapidly in size and importance, and during the course of a survey, made at the request of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, it became clear that this was an opportunity to record the vestiges of its old prosperity before they disappeared for ever. The aim of the present work is to make more widely known something of the scope and quality of the material in Julfa worthy of preservation, which still awaits further detailed study. It makes no claim to be exhaustive, as time was too short to do more than note the more obvious features of the buildings and their contents. Whilst organizing the material for publication, numerous references to Julfa and the Armenians were noted in the writings of seventeenth-century travellers to Persia, and a selection of these contemporary accounts has been included as an appendix.

The major task was a preliminary survey of the thirteen Armenian churches in Julfa. These were built between 1606 and 1728 and as a group constitute an important adjunct to the study of architecture of the Safavid period in Isfahan. Their interior decoration is often eclectic to an extreme; but this very quality, which might be considered tasteless in other circumstances, is here a virtue, as it provides valuable evidence of the interaction of ideas and artistic concepts between East and West in the seventeenth century. It is also a testimony to the vigour of Armenian mercantile activity during that period, which made these contacts possible.

For the purpose of the survey, a sketch map of Julfa was prepared with the position of the churches marked on it (Figure 3), and a chronological list was made according to the date of their construction. The churches were then visited in order, thus revealing the evolution in the style of their architecture. In each case a sketch plan and an E–W section was made of the church, including any adjacent buildings of importance (Figures 10–23). Notes were taken of specific architectural features of significance, the various kinds of decoration, the contents of the churches, and their present condition. General photographs of the interior and exterior of each church were supplemented with details of the decoration, tiles, paintings, carvings, and other objects of interest.

A seventeenth-century nunnery beside St. Catherine's Church, now fallen into disrepair, was also visited. This two-storied building once contained eight cells, each differently planned and decorated. The local schoolmaster, Mr. Levon Minasian, had been responsible for saving one of them from use as a storehouse for charcoal the previous winter. The wall paintings in this cell were so dirty as to be almost invisible, and some time was spent cleaning them before it was possible to photograph them.

Besides the churches, two seventeenth-century merchants' houses were visited, in the company of Dr. Caro Minasian, Mr. Sumbat, and Mr. Levon Minasian. There were once evidently many similar houses in Julfa, but now few are left in a reasonable state of preservation. They are typically Persian in plan, usually being built round a central courtyard, often with a fountain and a garden. The first house had already been measured by Mr. Sumbat (Figures 3, 'A'; 24), and detailed photographs were taken of it. The graceful wall paintings in the central room and the verandah constitute one of the finest remaining schemes of domestic decoration of the period. It was also clear that more paintings could be revealed by stripping a later coat of plaster. The house was uninhabited and neglected, but since the survey the Armenian community in Julfa have agreed to acquire it, and it is to be hoped that it will now be safe from further deterioration.

The second house (Figure 3, 'B') is still inhabited and in a much better state of repair. Although in origin also of the seventeenth century, parts of it were later modified and some rooms redecorated in the nineteenth-century Qajar style, with a profusion of carved stucco and cut-glass mirrors. However, one room dating from the earlier period of the house still contains a remarkable and well-preserved series of eleven wall paintings in niches. These were also photographed.

Other old houses in Julfa have been victims of municipal enterprise in the form of a new road driven through the heart of Julfa from north to south. Deplorable as it was to see many fine buildings in ruins, they at least provided a useful index of indigenous building methods, which could be studied and photographed in the broken walls. Another seventeenth-century house (Figure 3, 'C'), being demolished so that a modern house could take its place, still had one room with painted walls intact, and the name of its original owner above the door with the date of its construction, 1661.

As far as possible an inventory was made of the museum in the cathedral precincts, but due to a conflict of interests it is to be regretted that here the survey remains incomplete. Whilst housing a well-known but in practice rather inaccessible collection of Armenian manuscripts, the museum is at present simply an adjunct to the local tourist industry.

In Julfa, the success of the survey was assured by the kind co-operation of the *Aṙaǰnord* of Julfa, Father Nerses Pakhdikian, and the scholarly guidance of Dr. Caro Minasian. Mr. Levon Minasian was unfailingly helpful in practical matters. He also found us a cheerful and invaluable young assistant, Saren, who dealt with the complicated photographic equipment and the equal complexities of arranging for the churches to be unlocked at the right time. Anyone who has ever tried to locate the key to a locked monument in the Middle East will appreciate just how highly we rated his services.

As has been noted, the initiative for the survey came from the Gulbenkian Foundation; I would particularly like to thank Mr. Robert Gulbenkian for his interest in the results, which led to the original report to the Foundation (now deposited in Lisbon) being transformed into the present study. I would also like to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for publishing the work, and the officers of the Press for their courtesy and care during its production.

I am specially indebted to the Publications Committee of the American University of Beirut for a grant towards the cost of publication, as part of the programme to commemorate the University's Centenary (1866–1966), which has made it possible for the work to be properly illustrated.

Farid S. Hanania, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, kindly consented to the writer's leave of absence from the American University of Beirut in order to undertake the survey. I am grateful to Mrs. Manoug Parikian, Dr. T. S. R. Boase, Dr. W. Bickers, Mr. R. J. Charleston, Mr. J. Brinton, Dr. J. Malone, and Mr. H. Paget, for their generous advice, and to Mr. David Howell for reading the manuscript several times and making many helpful suggestions.

The majority of the photographs were taken by Miss Myrtle Winter, who was an indefatigable and enthusiastic fellow visitor to Julfa. Without her professional skill, which she generously gave to the project, only a fraction of the material could have been recorded. Finally, I am once more indebted to Professor C. J. F. Dowsett, who first drew my attention to the mass of artistic material in Julfa some years ago, and who on this occasion gave me invaluable help and advice, and also translated many of the Armenian texts and inscriptions.

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I

INTRODUCTION

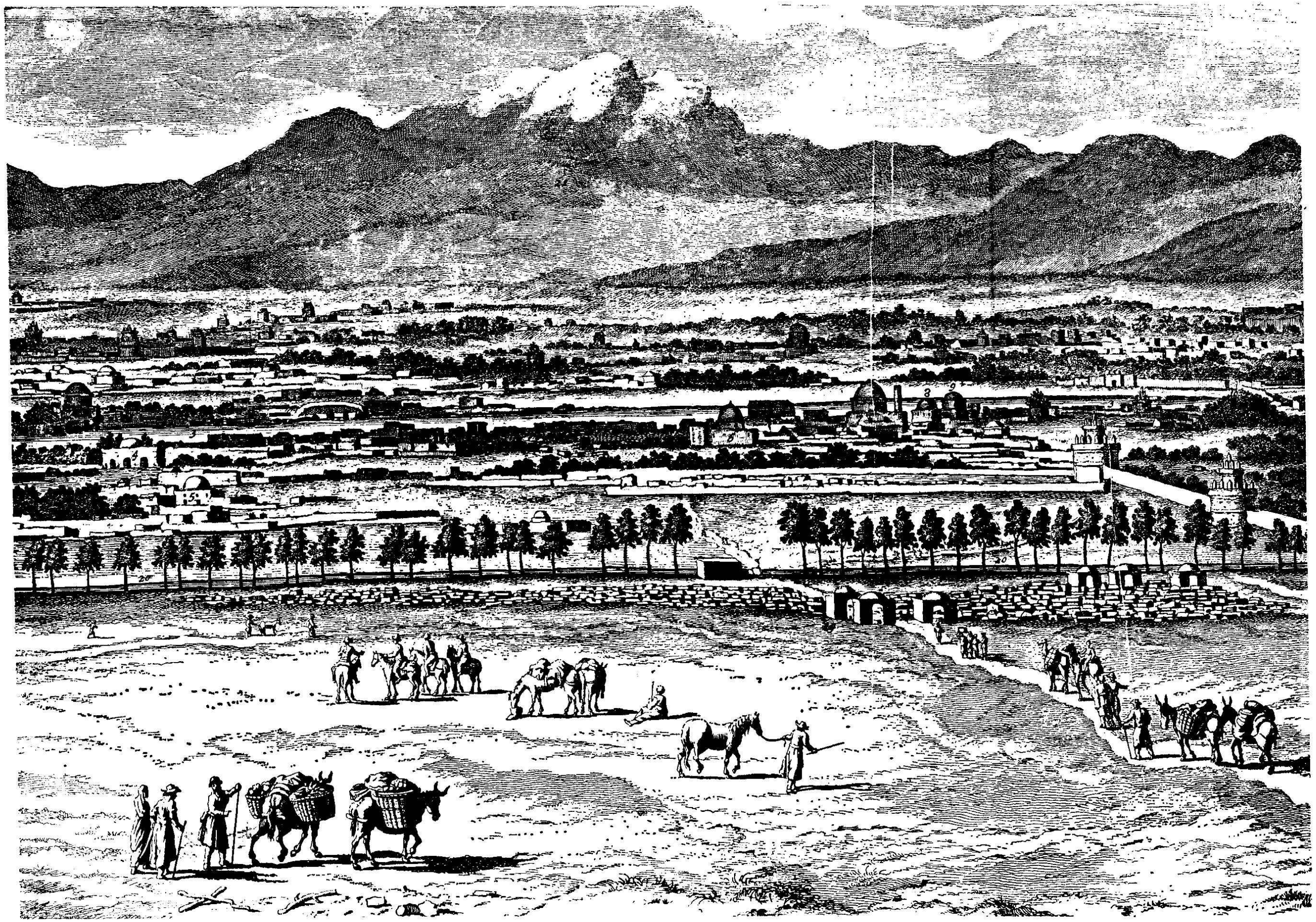

Fig. 1. General view of Julfa in the early 18th. century; from C. de Bruyn's *Travels*.

'(4) house of the chief Armenian merchants of Julfa, (5) *Dominican* church, (6) Church of St. John, (7) Episcopal Church of St. John with a small tower, (8) the market church, (9) Church of St. Mary, (19) The *Christian* place of burial'.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND[1]

When Shah Abbas the Great (1587–1629) transferred a large proportion of the population of Armenia to Persia in the first years of the seventeenth century, his motives were as varied as the consequences of his act.

Having moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in 1598, he then conducted a series of campaigns against the Ottoman Turks in Armenia and Georgia. After his initial successes, he prudently decided to depopulate the area between the two empires, so that the Turks would be deprived of territory into which they might forage before engaging in any further hostilities. A more ruthless victor than Shah Abbas might have annihilated the local population but instead he transferred it to Persia, where he rightly foresaw that the emigrants would prove to be an asset to the economy. The peasants were settled in the Persian countryside, particularly in the silk-growing province of Gilan bordering the Caspian Sea, to which he sent thirty thousand families.[2] Other country-folk were settled in villages south and west of Isfahan, where they served as a buffer against the incursions of the Bakhtiyari tribes.

The Armenian townspeople were settled by Shah Abbas in Isfahan. Most of them came from old Julfa, on the River Araxes, on the border between Persia and Armenia, which John Cartwright, an English traveller who visited it at the end of the sixteenth century, described as a town built of stone, in a barren, mountainous area with little fertile land.[3] The ten thousand Christians there, who included both Armenians and Georgians, were tributaries of the Shah and showed great animosity towards the Turks. They were also prosperous merchants and 'given to the traffique of Silkes and other sorts of wares, whereby [the town] waxeth rich and full of money', and it was no doubt with their trading ability in mind that the Shah chose to transfer them to his capital.

An account of the Armenian emigration is narrated in detail by Arak'el of Tabriz, an Armenian chronicler writing in the middle of the seventeenth century.[4] After the capture of Tabriz in 1602, Shah Abbas chose Julfa as his next objective, which he soon took, along with Nakhidjevan. The Armenian population meanwhile fled to the mountains, to await the outcome of his campaign, and he marched on Erivan, the capital. Erivan surrendered in 1604, after a siege lasting eight months, the Turks being unable to rally to the support of the garrison because of the confused situation then prevailing in Turkey itself. After the town was captured the Shah ordered the transfer of the whole population to Persia, Christians, Moslems, Jews, foreigners, and travellers alike. The Armenians pleaded that as winter was approaching, the emigration should be delayed until the spring so that they might make proper provision for the journey, hoping no doubt to avert it. This plea was of no avail, and the Shah sent his officers to supervise the exodus; town and countryside were evacuated, the houses burned, and any supplies that might be of use to the enemy were destroyed.

Retreating southwards the Persians forced the Armenians on before them. There were not enough boats for both the Persians and the Armenians to cross the River Araxes, and many Armenians who could not swim were swept away and drowned.[5] While the Persian army went forward to Tabriz, the Armenian refugees took a roundabout route by Tharoum Khalkhal, Ahar, and Moushkoun for fear that, as they were moving more slowly, the Turks would overtake them in pursuit of the Persians. In fact, the Turks never actually followed them across the Araxes. The Armenians spent a miserable winter quartered in nearby villages; those that survived moved on the following spring.[6]

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[1] The material for this introduction is drawn largely from the writings of seventeenth century European travellers to Isfahan, which supplement the few available Armenian sources. As the foreigners were usually lodged in Julfa and often relied on the Armenians as interpreters and intermediaries, they were able to give an accurate description of their customs. A selection from their accounts is printed in the Appendix at the end of this volume, pp. 73–87.

[2] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages . . . through Turkey, into Persia and the East Indies*, London, 1677, iv. 246; Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Ṣafavī Dynasty . .*, 1958, pp. 9, 74. Père Rafaël du Mans, *L'Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris, 1890, pp. 182–3. See Appendix, pp. 74–5.

[3] John Cartwright, *The Preachers Travels . . .*, London, 1611, pp. 35–36; see also Tavernier, op.cit., p. 19. Appendix, pp. 73–4.

[4] Arak'el of Tabriz, *Livre d'Histoires*, Amsterdam, 1669 (in Armenian), translated by M. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 276 et seq. Arak'el's work, edited by Oskan, was one of the first Armenian books to be printed; see below, p. 10.

[5] *Journal Asiatique*, Mars 1837; translation of an Armenian MS. (Bibliothèque Royale, no. 31) written by Père Badjétsi, Catholic/Armenian Bishop of Nakhidjevan, before 1646. It contains an eye-witnesss account of the forced crossing of the Araxes in 1604, and the sufferings of the Armenians on their march into Persia. According to Tavernier, a stone bridge across the Araxes was destroyed by Shah Abbas; see p. 73.

In Isfahan, the Armenians were given land to the south across the River Zanderood, and it was here that new Julfa was established, named after the old town from which they had come.[7] Besides the Julfaites, other groups of Armenians from Erivan and Dasht were living in Isfahan itself. These remained in the town in the midst of the Moslem population until the reign of Shah Abbas II, when he was prevailed upon to move them across the river to Julfa. Those from Dasht were transferred in 1654, and from Erivan a year later, and according to Arak'el by 1658 there were no Armenians living in Isfahan, although they had their warehouses there and conducted business in the town.[8] On the outskirts of Isfahan there were two villages, Desach and Werende, inhabited by Armenians also originally from Erivan, who were engaged in tending vines.[9] In fact, it was because of supplying the Persians with wine that the Armenians were transferred from Isfahan to Julfa in the middle of the seventeenth century, since it was impossible to control its sale, forbidden to Moslems, whilst the two populations intermingled.

The forced emigrations from Armenia continued for seven or eight years after 1604, and many of the later arrivals were put into hostels in Isfahan, where they lived in poverty. In 1617 Shah Abbas ordered a further emigration, and Arak'el mentions that all the stonemasons were chosen to be sent to Isfahan, where they were especially useful to the Persians for constructing new buildings. A famine in Armenia in 1605–7 led many of those who had previously avoided being moved to leave for other countries besides Persia, such as 'Roumeli, Boughdan, the land of the Ilakhs, the island of Cafa [the Crimea], and the shores of Pontus [the Black Sea]'.[10]

Having already settled many Armenians in Gilan, where the best silk in Persia was produced, Shah Abbas decided to make use of their experience as traders. Until the arrival of the Armenian merchants in Isfahan, the silk trade had been in the hands of Persian merchants. Their ineptitude induced the Shah to transfer it to the Armenians, whom he rightly foresaw would have the advantage in Europe of dealing with their fellow Christians. Some knew European languages, and they were already familiar with the silk trade. He gave them bales of silk on credit to sell abroad, for which they had to pay on return, allowing them to keep any profit that they could make on the transaction. The Armenian merchants were swift to grasp this exceptional opportunity, and one of the more fascinating aspects of the establishment of the Armenians in Persia was the speed with which they organized their international markets. As the French traveller Tavernier noted,

> Those people in a short time became so expert, that there is not any sort of Trade which they will not now undertake; for now they run as far as *Tunquin* [Tonkin], *Java* and the *Philippines*, and indeed all over the East, except *China* and *Japan*. But if they do not thrive, they never return, as being a place

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[6] Arak'el, op. cit., p. 291. Arak'el says that the villagers were settled in Alendchan, Gandiman, Dchgakhar, Pharia, and Bourvar; five hundred families were sent to Shiraz.

[7] Appendix, pp. 74–5.

[8] Arak'el op. cit., p. 482–8; those from Dasht were moved to Julfa and Gaurabad, and those from Erivan and other villages (living in the Thoroscan and Chekhchapan quarters of Isfahan) to Julfa. Cornelis de Bruyn (*Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, London, 1737, p. 180) lodged at the Jedde caravanserai near the Maidan; he remarks that this was where 'all the Armenians have their warehouses and keep their shops'. See also du Mans, op. cit., p. 184.

[9] Adam Olearius, *The Voyages and Travells of the Ambassadors . . .*, London, 1669, v.209: 'The Inhabitants of those villages are *Armenians* and they are called *Desach* and *Werende*, from the Country where they lived before, near *Iruan* [Erevan] whence they were heretofore translated by *Schach-Abas*, to the end, that, living near *Ispahan*, they might be employed about the Vines.'

[10] Arak'el, op. cit., pp. 307–14, 340. See Sir George Larpent, *Turkey, its history and progress from the journals . . . of Sir James Porter continued to the present time . . . by his grandson Sir G. L.*, London, 1854, vol. i, pp. 23–4; Boghdan in Moldavia (Rumania), Rumili (Albania and Macedonia), and Eflak (Wallachia) are mentioned among the vilayets of European Turkey. Professor Dowsett suggests that *the land of the Ilakhs* ('erkir Ilakhatz') is Wallachia; the forms Ulakh and Olakh occur for this in Armenian sources, but Arak'el may have been confusing the name with Īlāq, a province in Transoxiana.

> where they must give an exact Account, or else suffer the quick and severe Justice of Drubbing, which never fails those factors that are ill Husbands for their Masters.
>
> And indeed the *Armenians* are so much more fit for Trading because they are a people very sparing, and very sober; though whether it be their virtue or their avarice, I know not. For when they are going a long Journey, they only make provision of Bisket, smoak'd *Bufalo's* flesh, Onions, bak'd Butter, Flowr, Wine, and dry'd Fruits. They never buy fresh Victuals, but when they meet with Lambs or Kids very cheap in the Mountainous Countries; nor is there one of them that does not carry his Angle to fish withal, when they are come to any Ponds or Rivers. All these Provisions cost them littlethe Carriage. And when they come to any Town where they are to stay, they club five or six together, and lye in an empty Chamber which they furnish themselves; every one carrying his Mattress, his Coverlet, and his Kitchin-Instruments, which is a great piece of Thrift. When they travel into Christendom, they carry along with them Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and other Spices; which they exchange in the Country-Towns for Bread, Wine, Butter, Cheese, Milk-Meats, and other Provisions which they buy of the poor Women. When they return out of Christendom, they bring along with them all sorts of Mercery-ware, and Pedlery-Ware of *Noremberg* and *Venice*; as little Looking-glasses, trifles of Tin enamel'd, false Pearls, and other things of that nature; which pays for the Victuals they call for among the Country-people.
>
> In the beginning of their Trade, there return'd very few *Caravans* into *Persia* without two hundred thousand Crowns in Silver, beside *English* and *Dutch* Clothes, fine Tissues, Looking-glasses, *Venice*-pearls, Cochenel, and Watches; which they thought most proper for the Sale of *Persia* and *India.*
>
> At length those *Armenians* became so exquisite in Trade, that several of them have left Estates of two, some twenty thousand *Tomans* . . .[11]

The exercise of this monopoly proved to be profitable to both parties. The Armenians acquired a reputation for diligence and thrift, and the trade provided the necessary capital for the development of a complex network of Armenian merchants, stretching from the Far East to Europe, with Julfa at the centre. There were merchants in Tonkin, Siam, Java and the Philippines, and in many towns in India, and amongst the commodities shipped from the East to Persia were cotton goods, musk, spices, and Chinese porcelain. Silk was exported from Persia overland through Tabriz, Erzerum, and Aleppo to Smyrna, where it was shipped across the Mediterranean to Venice, Leghorn, Marseilles, or other ports.[12] In Europe it was sold by the Armenian merchants in Holland, France, England, Italy, Germany, Poland, and Sweden, and Armenians from Julfa are recorded as far afield as Spain.[13] An alternative overland route was developed through Russia to the North Sea, from Tabriz to Nosava, across the Caspian Sea, to Astrakhan, Moscow, and Archangel, from whence it continued to Holland, Stockholm, and England. In 1667 two Armenian merchants from Julfa obtained an *ukaz* from Czar Alexander Mikhailovitch allowing them to import silk duty-free for sale in Russia, or on payment of duty to transport it to Europe.[14] As late as the end of the seventeenth century, only Armenian merchants were allowed to trade north of Astrakhan, which gave them a valuable monopoly.[15]

In turn, the Persians gained a market for their silk and access to all the attributes of European civilization. As Tournefort phrased it, 'all the Commodities of the East were made known in the West, and those of the West serve as new Ornaments for the East. . . . in the midst of *Persia* is now [*c.* 1700] seen every thing that is curious throughout all the Countries where the Merchants have extended their Correspondence'.[16] The goods brought back from Europe by the Armenian merchants make a formidable list; they include English, Dutch, and Venetian cloth, brocades, tissues, looking-glasses, Venetian glass, coloured glass for windows, glass rosaries, false pearls, amber, paper, spectacles, watches, clocks, enamels, knives, buckles, needles, and paintings.[17] In 1660, amongst goods suggested for import by a writer familiar with the Persian market, in addition to some items already mentioned, were sabre blades, red and green cloth ('les autres couleurs ne s'y vendent point'), gold and silver lace, emeralds, lustres, paintings of battle-scenes, and portraits of princes and princesses.[18]

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[11] Tavernier, op. cit. iv. 158–9. Appendix, pp. 76–7.

[12] According to a traveller, the journey from Persia to Holland took eight or nine months; see Du Mans, op. cit., (appendix), p. 351.

[13] Dutch tiles painted with Armenian inscriptions, dated 1670, were commissioned by the Zucar family for the Church of Santa Maria in Cadiz. The Zucars were from Julfa, merchants who settled in Spain in the seventeenth century. See J. M. Dos Santos Simões, *Carreaux Céramiques Hollandais au Portugal et en Espagne*, The Hague, 1959, pp. 104–7, Plates XXVII, XXIX.

[14] Y. Tēr Yovhaniantz, *History of New Julfa in Isfahan* (in Armenian), Julfa, 1880, vol. i, pp. 174–6. See below, p. 13.

[15] Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*. . . , Paris, 1717, vol. iii, pp. 232–3. Lockhart, op. cit., p. 59, lists rice, pepper, naphtha, precious stones and pearls as imports, as well as silk.

[16] Ibid. iii. 229.

Many travellers remarked on the Shah's liberal attitude towards his Armenian subjects. He relieved them of certain taxes, and in disputes involving Moslems he was quite likely to give judgement in favour of the Armenians if he felt their cause was just.[19] He allowed the Armenians to erect churches in Isfahan, and Julfa, as well as in the country villages. They practised their religion freely, and the dead were buried in their cemetery outside the town to the south, with appropriate ceremony and safe from derision by the Persians. This was all the more remarkable as the Persians were Shi'ites and not especially tolerant. Such patronage did not endear Shah Abbas to the more fanatical of his Moslem subjects, but he answered his critics by maintaining that the older Armenians would die off and the next generation easily converted to Islam, and that persecution would simply make martyrs of them. In the event, there were few cases of apostasy then or later, and most attempts to induce the Armenians to change their faith only served to make them hold on to it even more tenaciously.

It is with some surprise that one learns that Shah Abbas, although a Moslem, was sometimes present at the more important festivals in the Armenian cathedral in Julfa, such as Easter and Ascension. Also, he was several times the guest of honour at the Epiphany/Christmas celebrations, conducted by the Armenians on 6 January each year on the banks of the Zanderood. The Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, describes one occasion when Shah Abbas was present, in 1619.[20] The Shah had asked the leader of the Armenians, Khodja Nazar, some weeks previously if the ceremony still took place, and learning that it did, he commanded that it should be celebrated with even greater magnificence, as he intended to be there. On the day, the priests from the twelve churches assembled, with their crosses, silver bells, and a great number of lighted candles, and processed to the banks of the river. Here the Patriarch Melchisedech, the priests, and a great crowd of spectators including foreigners waited all morning, until at last the Shah arrived, 'un peu devant l'heure de son disner'. He was accompanied by his two sons, various members of the court, an unveiled courtesan named Dellalà Chizi, and a troop of cavalry. In Isfahan the streets had been cleared for his passage, and the riverside was crowded with splendidly dressed women; on the way through Julfa the Armenian women offered him refreshments, and danced for him.

Arriving at the river, the Shah greeted the Patriarch and rode into the river with his two sons, and 'puis il commença avec son humeur active et incapable d'aucun repos, à faire l'office de maitre des Ceremonies'. The river was blessed with holy oil (chrism), and the crosses were thrown in, to be recovered by hardy youths plunging into the water for them. It began to rain, but the Shah stayed to question the Armenians about their religion, and asked which were the better Christians, the Georgians or the Franks? Khodja Nazar, who had a Georgian wife, replied that the Georgians observed their fasts more rigorously. To this the Shah drily replied that the Franks might eat as much as they liked, but he was more interested in differences of law and ceremonies. The rain temporarily brought the cross-examination to a close, and the Shah retired to the house of Khodja Safar, where he was entertained by Safar's three sons and their uncle, Nazar. The whole house was decked with carpets, brocades, and cloth of gold, 'dont la plus grande partie fut gastée, pour avoir esté foulée aux pieds de ceux qui venans de la pluye, avoient leurs souliers pleins de bouë'. Returning to his theological discussion, Shah Abbas asked to see the relics of St. Hripsimé, which he respectfully examined. He also questioned three Catholic missionaries about the Holy Trinity; but they were unable to reply in detail, as their Persian was not fluent enough. When the rain abated the Shah adjourned to a balcony, to watch women across the way dance and sing for him. He spent the night in the house, and the next day, after eating his dinner, which was sent from Isfahan, he returned home. Shah Abbas attended the Epiphany celebrations on several occasions during his reign, as did his successors Shah Safi, Shah Abbas II, and Shah Sulaiman.

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[17] Ibid. Du Mans, op. cit., pp. 181, 332; Tavernier, op. cit., iv. 159. André Daulier Deslandes, *Les Beautez de la Perse . . .*, Paris, 1673, p. 48 (Appendix, p. 81).

[18] From a memoir of a traveller in Persia and Armenia in du Mans, op. cit., pp. 342–3; see Appendix, pp. 76–7.

[19] Arak'el, op. cit., p. 300.

[20] Pietro della Valle, *Les Voyages . . .* Paris, 1663; iii. 100–13. For other accounts of the Shah's and his successors' attendance at this ceremony, see Appendix, pp. 78–9, and *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London, 1939, pp. 1245–6.

Shah Abbas was anxious to dispel any ideas that the Armenians might have had of returning to their homeland. Learning that they had not lost their reverence for the holy places at Etchmiadzin, the religious centre of Armenia and the seat of the Catholicos, he decided to provide an alternative, at least in token form. He arranged to have several relics transferred from Etchmiadzin to Isfahan, such as the right arm of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and in 1614 he had the stone altar and other architectural fragments transported from the cathedral at Etchmiadzin. The relics were placed in the care of the leader of the Armenian community, Khodja Nazar, and the stones were placed in St. George's Church in Julfa, where they have remained till this day. However, after Etchmiadzin was restored in 1634 following the depredations it had suffered under Turkish occupation, the new Catholicos, Philippos, attempted to get the relics back. They were then in the possession of Sarfraz, Khodja Nazar's son, who with the other Julfaites stoutly resisted the idea. Philippos got his way by giving a present to Shah Safi and thus securing an order for their return. Nevertheless he was able to execute this only with the connivance of Armenians from Erivan living in Isfahan, who helped him smuggle the relics out of town in a caravan bound for Tabriz. They were eventually restored to Etchmiadzin in 1637.[21]

According to Arak'el, who did not hold Shah Abbas in high regard, there were some moments of discord between the Shah and the Armenians. He recounts that in 1607 the Shah lent 400 *tomans* to two groups of impoverished Armenians, without interest, for three years. This was on the understanding that if they failed to repay the money, they were either to renounce their faith, or hand over a number of Armenian children as slaves, at the rate of a boy for 4 *tomans* and a girl for 3. By 1612 they had failed to make any profit and had also lost the capital, and the Shah decided to enforce his part of the agreement. The enslavement of the children was temporarily averted by the intercession of the French bishop, who advanced most of the money, but in the end the leader of one of the groups was tortured, and converted. In 1619, according to Arak'el, there were persecutions and forced conversions of the Armenians in Pharia and Bourvar, in the countryside outside Isfahan.[22]

Two of Shah Abbas's successors, Shah Safi (1629–42) and Shah Abbas II (1642–67), were on friendly terms with their Armenian subjects. Shah Safi was often entertained by a wealthy Armenian merchant, Khodja Soutenon, in his house at Julfa. Tavernier tells the story of the last time this happened: the Shah ate and drank too much and was sick when he returned home, giving rise to the rumour that the Armenian had poisoned him. The Khodja was so terrified that he committed suicide, much to the distress of the Shah, who by the following day had quite recovered.[23] Shah Abbas II was so favourably disposed towards the Armenians that Sir John Chardin says

> . . . the *Armenians* would say one among another, that he was more a Christian than a *Mahometan.* Not but that he was very much devoted to his own Religion, even as much as the most zealous of his Pre-

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[21] Arak'el, op. cit., pp. 364–72, 421–5, Khodja Nazar gave his name to the street in which his house stood, *Nazari Khiyaban* (Nazar Avenue); see Yovhaniantz. op. cit., i. 89.

[22] Arak'el, op. cit., pp. 341–8. Della Valle, op. cit., p. 264, states that the violence of Shah Abbas against the Armenians resulted from criticisms of him by Armenian women, which he overheard when visiting villages in disguise. 'La première violence, dont on usa en leur endroit, fut d'oster de leurs Eglises toutes les Croix, toutes les Images des Saints, et toutes les livres sacrez.' They were returned after the Armenians had made presents to the Shah.

[23] Tavernier, op. cit. iv. 176: 'A rich merchant of *Zulpha,* called *Cotgia Soutenon,* was so well belov'd by *Sha-Sefi,* that he often went to Dine at his house. But one day it fell out that the King having eat and drank to excess, upon his return home fell crop-sick, upon which the report ran that the *Armenian* had poyson'd him. Which report coming to his ears, fearing least the King should dye, and himself be put to cruel Torments, he took a dose of Poyson and dy'd. Which when the King, who was well again the next day, understood, he was very much troubl'd for his death.'

> decessors: only he thought that the violence of Princes towards the Liberty of mens Consciences, was a thing neither Acceptable to God, nor conformable to Reason... he was wont to tell the Grandees of the Kingdom, that it would be a vile Injustice, for People that laboured for the good of the Kingdom, by their Industry and Commerce, to be excluded from the enjoyments of Peace and that Plenty of which they were the principal Instruments.[24]

When Shah Abbas II came to the throne, the young King made short journeys into the provinces to acquaint himself with his subjects. He was also a keen visitor to Julfa, ostensibly to visit the cathedral, but, according to Tavernier, in fact to observe the Armenian women. He was very much taken with them, and they were also a subject of curiosity to the ladies of his harem. When these excursions took place, all the men were required to absent themselves from Julfa. On one occasion he carried away the beautiful wife of Khodja Sarfraz, and kept her in his harem for fifteen days. When he sent her home he rewarded her with a pearl necklace.[25] Deslandes records that at a feast given for Tavernier by Shah Abbas II an Armenian played the organ, and another Armenian presented the Shah with a spinet from Holland; nobody knew how to play it, and Deslandes was sent for in order to perform on the instrument.[26]

In spite of this amicable relationship, there were times when the Armenians felt their loyalty to their sovereign lord somewhat strained. Once the Armenian merchants were forced to buy a diamond which the Shah's mother had grown tired of, at an exorbitant price; a week later they offered it to Chardin at a third less than they had to pay for it.[27] Chardin also tells of an unsuccessful attempt by the Armenian clergy to obtain a remission of taxes, amounting to six thousand crowns a year for ten churches. They optimistically thought that they would be relieved of this burden, but instead the Vizier told them they must either pay up or the churches would be pulled down.[28] De Bruyn records that when the channel of the Zanderood was to be dug out in 1707, the Armenians had to supply 6,000 of the 70,000 workmen employed, at their own expense.[29]

The apostasy of a rich Armenian merchant caused a momentary dilemma amongst the Armenians, as Shah Sulaiman let it be known that he thought they should all do likewise. They countered this proposal, saying that they would pray fervently for the long life of the Shah, and, more pointedly, 'insinuated that their Factors who were gone to Europe would not return, which would be Loss of immense riches to the State; moreover that the Christian Princes would not suffer them to Traffick in their Dominions any longer'.[30] This bluff apparently worked, although for a while the Armenians had considered submitting themselves to the Pope, in return for French protection. This move was thwarted by the Augustines and the Carmelites, who were jealous at not having played any part in the intrigue.

Three religious orders had establishments in Isfahan, the Portuguese Augustines, the Italian Carmelites, and the French Capuchins.[31] The Dominicans and the Jesuits lived in Julfa, where they had churches, as also did the Carmelites. The Dominican Church can be seen in the foreground of De Bruyn's engraving of Isfahan (Figure 1,(5)), and the traveller John

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[24] Sir John Chardin, *Travels into Persia and the East Indies*, London, 1686, ii. 58, 60.

[25] Tavernier, op. cit. v. 211.

[26] Deslandes, op. cit., p. 32; Tavernier, op. cit., iv. 183.

[27] Chardin, op. cit., p. 108.

[28] Ibid., p. 55.

[29] De Bruyn, op. cit., ii. 155.

[30] Chardin, op. cit., (1927 ed.) pp. 67–69. The merchant was Aga Piri Caleu ar, (*Kalāntar*) governor of the Armenians at that time. He was described by Chardin as 'a sort of half Scholar', and childless.

[31] Appendix, pp. 91-2. Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 264–7: 'The Armenian Catholics came from Armenia to Isfahan in 1605 with the great migration. From the beginning they were always hostile to the Gregorians. In 1654 the Gregorians obtained a decree from Shah Abbas II prohibiting the building of churches in Julfa by the Franks. Nevertheless, the Armenian Catholics succeeded in obtaining permission to found seven churches, either through the intervention of the French consul, or by their own interest. These churches were: (1) St. Avetik', founded by the influential Catholic/Armenian family, the Sharimanians (2) St. Elias, commonly called the Carmelite Church (3) St. Joseph, called the Jesuit Church because it was founded by that order (4) the Dominican Convent (5) the Augustinian Convent, in Husainiyah (6) the Carmelite Convent in Godmir (7) the Capuchin Convent in Ghalatabaruk. The last-named three churches were within the city of Isfahan, each in a specially assigned quarter, whilst the first four were founded in Julfa. Of four of these churches not a trace now [1871] remains. Of two others the ruins are still visible—namely, those of the Jesuit Church and of St. Avetik' of the Sharimanians. The Dominican Convent is alone intact, in the Kotcher quarter.' See also *Chronicles of Carmelites*, ii. 1358–62, for details of the Sharimanians in Julfa, Venice and Leghorn.

Fryer described it as 'a Magnificent Chappel, beautified with good Painting, Sculpture and Rich Ornaments'. Like Père Rafaël du Mans, the head of the Capuchins, and well known at court, the priests attempted to establish direct relations with the Persians. But according to Tavernier, 'the number of Religious Teachers [was] far greater than the number of Hearers', and he states that, including the foreigners, there were no more than six hundred Catholics in Isfahan and Julfa together.

The Armenians were very useful as intermediaries for foreign merchants who wished to trade with the Persians. They were accustomed to the formalities of the Persian court, well versed in protocol, and could also act as interpreters for both sides. It was usually arranged that foreign ambassadors should be housed by the Armenians. Those foreigners who did not live in their own company house (the English and Dutch Companies both had houses in Isfahan) usually lived in Julfa with the Armenians.[32]

The chief of the Armenian community was the *Kalāntar*, or elder, appointed by the Shah and authorized to collect the taxes, which in Thévenot's time amounted to 500 *tomans* a year. The *Kalāntar* was also responsible for the good conduct of the community as a whole. Besides him there was another royally appointed officer, the *Kad-khudā*, or mayor, who gave judgement in criminal affairs.[33]

When Tavernier arrived in Isfahan in 1664 he was put in the care of the *Kalāntar*, who furnished him with horses and men for his audience with the Shah. When Sir Thomas Herbert entered Isfahan with Sir Dodmore Cotten in 1628, they were met outside the town by the Vizier and '*Hodge-Nazar*, the Armenian Prince'; Olearius describes how the Duke of Holstein's ambassadors to the Shah were met in 1637 by the two great Armenian lords *Seferas-Beg* and *Elias-Beg*, who conducted them to their lodgings, and he relates how the ambassadors were entertained for a whole day in Julfa by the Armenian lords and clergy.[34] When the ambassador of Muscovy arrived, Chardin says that he was met by the Persian Master of Ceremonies and

> the Provost of the *Armenians* of *Julfa* was also there, followed by seven or eight of the chief Merchants of his Nation: He was lodg'd in their Quarter, in a House fitted up on purpose: He was treated there Three Days by the King, and afterwards was order'd Sixty Abbasis *per* Day for his Entertainment, which makes Eighteen Crowns of our Money.[35]

When John Fryer arrived in 1677, he was similarly met by the Armenians and members of the foreign community including the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Russians, 'with their respective Trains, Trumpeters with their Ensigns, and Led Horses richly Trapped, with *Shotters* and Pages'.[36]

As well as the Armenians there were various foreign craftsmen living in Julfa, who had found employment at court. These included goldsmiths and 'Mechanik *French*, Jewellers, Gunsmiths and Watchmakers'.[37] The best remembered of these was the Swiss watchmaker, Ralph Sadler, whose tragic story is related by both Olearius and Tavernier. Sadler was employed by Shah Safi, and was condemned for killing a Moslem intruder in his house in Julfa. The Shah attempted to pardon Sadler by persuading him to change his faith, but he refused. After his execution the Shah repented to the extent of stating that he would never put another Christian to death for his religion. His tomb in the cemetery in Julfa became a place of pilgrimage for the Armenians, who made an unofficial saint of him.[38] De Bruyn records that at the beginning of the eighteenth century French, Swiss (including a goldsmith and watchmakers), and a French and a Greek physician, were living in Julfa. They were all married to Armenians of low birth, and he commented that such marriages invariably resulted in the Armenization of the husband, who conformed to the manners and customs of his spouse. The exceptions were the English and the Dutch, who, if they married an Armenian, were apparently more intractable.[39]

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[32] Deslandes, op. cit., p. 22; Sir Willian Hedges, *The Diary of W. H . . . during his agency in Bengal etc.*, Hakluyt Society, 1887, p. 210. See Appendix, p. 82.

[33] See Appendix, pp. 77–8. Also, texts of *firmans* translated into Armenian *apud* Yovhaniantz, i. 36–38. Yovhaniantz (b. in Julfa 1828, d. 1871) also lists the leading families of Julfa:

1. Sarfrazian, or Shafrazian, descendants of Khodja Nazar.
2. Yeghiazarian or Nazaretian.
3. Sharimanian (who were Roman Catholics).
4. Velidjanian or Khodja Poghosian.

To these families he devotes a chapter each, pp. 88–93; 94–110; 110–28; 128–38. The names of other leading families were collected by him from old memorials, bulls, merchants' accounts, martyrologies, and inscriptions:

Khaldarian, Salendjian, Velidjanian (*sic*), Gerakian, Kamalian, Bedzian, Aghababian, Kalakoshian, Agha Davtian, Sahradian, Parsadanian, Tarkhanian or Khodja Minasian, Karasmakantz, Tavakalian or Avakalian, Topchian, Leghvorian, Ghalandarian, Aghamalian, Gharamian, Valatian, Vanjalian, Dilakian, Amirasatian, Sanvelian, Aghanurian (see pp. 138–51), Abgarian, Zohrabian, Nahapetian, Kretian, Sukiasian, Eminian, Amirian, Ter Hovhanian (see pp. 152–5).

He lists merchants' names, pp. 172–4.

[34] Tavernier, op. cit., p. 177; Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique*, London, 1677, p. 154; Olearius, op. cit., v. 197, 205; Appendix, p. 81.

[35] Chardin, op. cit., (1927 ed.) pp. 52–53.

[36] John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia . . . being nine years Travels begun 1672 and finished 1681*, London, 1698, p. 260.

[37] Ibid., pp.265; 285: '[the Shah] is munificent to the Handicrafts-men which come from *Europe*; to these he has given large salaries, and graceful Houses in *Jelpha*, besides their peculiar Officers at Court, where they attend when in waiting'.

The Armenians were skilled linguists, and most of the merchants knew Armenian, Persian, and Turkish. Many spoke Italian and French, and other European languages. French was taught in the schools run by the Jesuits and the Capuchins.[40] According to Fryer,

> . . . they making *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkish* and *Persian*, their own at Home; and by *Lingua-Franca* become conversant with most of the *Western* Foreigners; which language is a mixture of *Portugese*, *Italian*, *French* and *Spanish*, and thereby made intelligible to *European* traders as universally as *Latin* to the Gentry and Scholars. So that it has often been a Matter of Wonder to hear a Merchant disown any Skill in the above recited Speeches, yet converse severally with those of each Nation. They as much hate the *Greek* language as their church.[41]

De Bruyn describes a visit to the country house of a Mr. Sahid, the Dutch Company's Armenian interpreter, who was prosperous enough to be able to entertain forty of the Company. This interpreter spoke both French and Dutch, as his father had lived in France and he himself had been employed by the Dutch Company. He had a considerable knowledge of the intrigues of the Persian court, and he was well liked by everyone. His son was also employed by the Dutch Company, and also understood both Dutch and French.[42]

In direct contact with the foreign community in Isfahan, and at the centre of the Armenian international trade network, the Armenians developed a taste for foreign goods of all sorts. Chardin even credits the Armenians indirectly with the introduction of the cloth-stocking into Persia. Like the Persians, the Armenians appear to have been fascinated by European costumes, and several examples of figures dressed in the European style are to be seen in the paintings on the walls of their houses in Julfa. A wall painting still surviving in a private house (Plate VIII) shows a family seated at table dressed at the height of seventeenth-century European fashion. The landscape setting is also European in concept, rather than Persian, and indeed the only oriental note in the whole picture is half a scarlet water-melon on the table. Other paintings in the same room, besides depicting figures in local costume, also show people in European dress; one lady daringly raises her skirt, to show her garter (Plate 80(f)). A good example of the conjunction of Eastern and Western tastes can be seen in a wall painting of the *Marriage at Cana* on the south wall of the cathedral in Julfa. This shows the wedding guests being served from a variety of vessels, which include blue and white pitchers inspired by Chinese Ming porcelain, and a Venetian glass goblet (Plate 11).[43]

The Armenians introduced the art of printing into Persia in the seventeenth century. The first Armenian book, *Lives of the Fathers*, was printed in Julfa in 1641 by Vardapet Khatchatur, and the second work, a *Service Book*, was completed a year later. Examples of both are in the museum in Julfa (Plates 90, 91). The technique of casting and composing metal type must have been learned in Europe, probably in Amsterdam, where there was a colony of Armenian merchants, and where the first Armenian Bible was printed in 1666, and Arak'el's *Chronicles* in 1669. Both the latter were edited by Oskan, from Julfa, whose parents came from

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[38] Tavernier, op. cit. v. 207; Olearius, op. cit., p. 208.

[39] De Bruyn, op. cit., pp. 232–3. Appendix, p. 82.

[40] Tavernier, op. cit. iv. 159–60; Deslandes, op. cit., p. 50. Appendix, pp. 82–83.

[41] Fryer, op. cit., p. 283.

[42] De Bruyn, op. cit., pp. 219, 246. He acknowledges the orthography of his Persian words—'in which I differ from other travellers'—as Mr. Sahid's.

[43] There are Dutch records of ships owned and captained by Armenians carrying porcelain; see T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, Leiden, 1954, pp. 97, 183, 191.

Erivan in the emigration. Oskan was born in Isfahan in 1613 and studied under Khatchatur.[44] Tavernier relates that the newly established printing trade in Julfa suffered a reverse:

> There was an *Armenian* who had set up a Printing-Press at *Ispahan* and had Printed the Epistles of *St. Paul*, the seven Penitential Psalms, and was going to Print the whole Bible, but not having the way of making good Ink, and to avoid the ill consequences of the Invention, he was forc'd to break his Press. For on one side the Children refus'd to learn to write, pretending they wrote the Bible themselves, only to get it sooner by heart: on the other side many persons were undone by it, that got their living by writing.[45]

Julfa was a flourishing centre of manuscript-copying in the seventeenth century, and the reaction of the scribes against Khatchatur's printing-press was perhaps a more important reason for the Bible being printed abroad, than the technical difficulties of making ink. After this initial set-back, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Julfa became an important centre for Armenian printing.

The churches and houses in Julfa are evidence that the Armenians were undoubtedly gifted craftsmen. For the Armenians from old Julfa, a town built entirely out of stone, to build churches in mud-brick was a new experience, and Shah Abbas is said to have aided them initially with the loan of Persian architects. Inside the churches, the rich decoration of gilded stucco ornament and tile friezes, both incorporating Armenian inscriptions, show that the Armenians were masters of these techniques. It is no exaggeration to say that the tile friezes in the Julfa churches are amongst the finest and most original of any tile panels that survive from the Safavid period. Externally, the churches are hardly decorated at all, and they rely for effect on their form alone. The visitor to Julfa is immediately impressed by the great, onion-shaped domes on the skyline, which unlike the Persian mosques across the river are bare, and unadorned with tiles. This simplicity serves to make the interiors of the cathedral and the Bethelehem Church even more startling, where the whole surface has been painted, plastered, gilded, or tiled. Several seventeenth-century travellers state that their decoration had been influenced by what the Armenians had seen on their travels in Europe, and that they often brought back sacred pictures for them.[46] Some of these paintings remain in the churches, and others are now in the museum (Plates 82, 83).

Most of the churches were built in the first half of the seventeenth century.[47] When Pietro della Valle visited Julfa (*c.* 1617) there were ten in Julfa and two in Isfahan, the latter presumably for the Armenians living in the town, who were later moved to Julfa by Shah Abbas II. Tavernier refers to fifteen or sixteen churches, including two nunneries, and Oskan and Deslandes to twenty (*c.* 1664). When de Bruyn wrote about his travels (*c.* 1701) there were apparently between twenty-seven and thirty churches. In more recent times, in 1881 Yovhaniantz mentions seventeen churches, of which six were in ruins.[48] Today, only thirteen remain.

The comparative isolation of the Armenians in Julfa across the river from Isfahan meant that they developed their town much as they thought fit. In Safavid times no Moslems were allowed to reside in Julfa.[49] The town was walled, and until living memory all non-Christians were put out of Julfa at nightfall. Within, each quarter formed an entity in itself, the names of which sometimes suggest from where the inhabitants had come, such as the Tabriz and Erivan quarters. Each quarter had one or more churches, built by the prosperous merchants. The houses that the Armenians built for themselves follow closely the plan of Persian houses, either being set in a high walled garden, or else built round an internal courtyard. Those that survive of the seventeenth century, although built by Armenians, serve as excellent examples of Safavid domestic architecture. Their gardens were watered by open channels drawn off the Zanderood some miles upstream. Each house also had a well which tapped the water-table some five metres below ground level. Most travellers remarked on the size and elegance of the houses in Julfa, comparing them favourably to the houses of wealthy Persians in Isfahan itself.[50]

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[44] Arak'el, op. cit., p. 596. Père R. Simon—'Le Sr. de Moni'—*Histoire Critique de la Creance et des Coûtumes des Nations du Levant*, Frankfort, 1684, pp. 217, 224.

[45] Tavernier, op. cit. v. 229; Yovhaniantz, op cit. i. 175 (quoting a Russian source) mentions an Armenian engineer, Hakob Hovhannisian (b. 1641), who saw a printing-press on his first journey to Europe in the service of the Shah of Persia, and built a press to print Armenian on his return to Isfahan.

[46] Deslandes, op. cit., p. 48; Fryer, op. cit., pp. 269–70.

[47] Appendix, pp. 84–5; Simon, op. cit., p. 224.

[48] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 157–237, includes a description of the churches, with many inscriptions; some of these, as it appeared in the course of a summary examination in Julfa by Mr. L. Minasian, need control by a specialist.

He lists the ruined churches as follows (p. 154):

NAZARETH CHURCH (*Nazaret*)
built in 1060 (A.D. 1610/11), according to a date on the dome. It was 'near to Norashen ["newly-built"] vineyard of the monastery' (p. 157). Dr. C. Minasian states that it was commonly known as 'Khiyar-a-gəmbet" or the 'cucumber-domed' church, because of its ribbed dome. The Poghoskhanian Armenian Hospital is built on the old site, and some of the old tombstones are still there.

ST. JAMES (*Muradentz Surb Hakob*)
listed as ruined in 1881 (p. 160), it was restored in 1890. See p. 35, below.

ST. THOMAS (*Surb Tōma*)
built at the expense of the Khaldareantz family; the earliest dated inscription noted by Yovhaniantz was 1695. According to him it was 'near the Zanderood River', and also called 'the chapel with the bell'; see pp. 154, 162.

ST. JAMES BAGHATA (*Surb Hakob Baghata*)
built in 1115 (A.D. 1665/6) by the Awak'aleantz family. It was 'by the Erivan quarter'; see pp. 154, 167.

ST. JOHN (*Shahvelentz Surb Hovhannes*)
1676 A.D. built by Joseph Marjarian. It was 'near the Shafrazi bridge'; see pp. 154, 164.

ST. SARGIS (*Surb Sargis* or *Ohana Vank*)
listed as ruined in 1881, it was later restored; see p. 52, below.

Whilst the travellers acknowledged the industry and thrift of the Armenians, their character was sometimes unfavourably compared with that of the Persians. According to de Bruyn, 'the men for their part, think of nothing but heaping up money, and how to make it turn to account when they have got it; their whole study is so bent upon this, that they are unmindful both of the other duties of life and of what passes in the world'.[51] He criticized the women for their unsociability, bad manners, false modesty, and lack of education. Worse, 'the women are destitute both of wit and genius, and entirely devoid of all charms', and du Mans, while noting that they were more richly dressed than the Persian women, uncharitably gives full details of just how ugly they were.[52] Chardin remarks on their bad complexions, 'rugged and full of Pimples, and their Bodies large, and excessive heavy', which he attributed to the Armenian passion for fasting, living on nothing but herbs and oil for thirty or forty days at a time.[53] However, as the travellers also record that the women were veiled, even at home, one wonders if their criticisms were completely valid.

Chardin also noted that the Armenian diet differed from the Persian, a fact he thought might be explained by the tastes they had acquired on their travels in Europe.[54] But it is more likely that the emigrants had simply retained their national cuisine. They raised capons in Julfa; in the villages they kept wild-boar which would have been forbidden as food to the Moslem Persians. Olearius records that the Duke of Holstein's ambassadors were served with pork when they were entertained by Khodja Sarfraz at his house in Julfa.[55] The Armenians also had their own special way of preparing roast mutton and lamb, by dressing it and then sewing it up in its own skin to cook overnight in the fire. The Armenians cultivated vines in the villages outside Isfahan; Cartwright implies that the only agriculture that the Armenians were able to undertake in old Julfa was growing vines, and this must have been another skill that the emigrants brought with them. Olearius also states that the chief reason that some Armenians were allowed to live in Isfahan itself was so that the Persians might buy wine from them, and, as already mentioned above, the argument for moving the Armenians out of the town to Julfa in 1654–5 was to stop this wine trade, which had got out of control.[56] The Armenians also distilled their own spirits, variously referred to as 'strong Water', *aquavitae*, or *Ros Solis*.[57]

Most of the travellers give some account of the Armenian faith and observances,[58] and recorded details of customs which seemed singular to them. Infants were baptized by immersion, repeated three times with prayers, preferably at Epiphany and usually out of doors in a pond or river.[59] Children were betrothed when very young, and often married at seven or eight; de Bruyn gives the reason for this, that unmarried girls were in danger of being carried off to the harem.[60] Women were veiled, and even in the presence of their husbands they were supposed not to remove their veils until the light was put out at night; according to Tournefort 'they say there are *Armenians* who would not know their Wives if they should ever find them lying with other men'.[61] Social intercourse between the sexes was limited, and their entertainments were always held separately.

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[49] Tavernier, op. cit. iv. 159.

[50] Arak'el, op. cit., p. 300; Jan Struys, *The Voyages and Travels* . . ., London, 1684, iii. 322; Fryer, op. cit., p. 269; Tavernier, op. cit., p. 158; de Bruyn, op. cit., pp. 225–7; Deslandes, op. cit., pp. 47–48; Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, *L'Ambassade de D. G. Silva y Figueroa en Perse* . . ., Paris, 1667, pp. 195, 285; Olearius, op. cit., p. 205. See Appendix, p. 86.

[51] De Bruyn, op. cit., p. 230.

[52] Du Mans, op. cit., p. 45. Appendix, pp. 87.

[53] Chardin, op. cit., (1927 ed.) p. 232.

[54] Ibid., p. 224.

[55] Olearius, op. cit., p. 205. Appendix, p. 81.

[56] Ibid., p. 232; Arak'el, op. cit., p. 482; du Mans, op. cit., p. 184, states that the Armenians were moved from the quarters of Serabana, Chamsabat, Abbasabat, and Gebrabat, for selling wine to the Moslems. They were given land near Julfa by the Shah.

[57] Appendix, p. 86–7.

[58] Della Valle, op. cit., pp. 100–13; Tavernier, op. cit., pp. 160, 170; Herbert, op. cit., pp. 157–9; du Mans, op. cit., *passim*; Deslandes, op. cit., pp. 49–50; Gabriel de Chinon, *Relations Nowelles du Levant* . . ., 1671; Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of M. de Thévenot into the Levant*, London, 1687, pp. 111–12; Fryer, op.cit., pp. 260–6; Tournefort, op. cit., pp. 234–47; Figueroa, op. cit., pp. 193–5.

The dead were buried in the Armenian cemetery south of Julfa, which is to be seen in the foreground of de Bruyn's engraving of Isfahan (Figure 1). The graves were covered with a stone slab, carved with a text and often with a portrait of the deceased, with the tools of his trade (Plates 44, 96). Many Julfaites were sailors, judging by the frequency of sailing-ships carved on the tombstones.[62] Burials were also made in the courtyards of the churches, usually of members of the clergy. Many thousands of carved stone slabs have survived and are to be seen in the cemetery, including memorials to English, Dutch, French, Swiss, Portuguese, Russians and Greeks who died in Isfahan.[63] There were also more elaborate tombs in the cemetery, which Tavernier describes: 'the rich set up an Arch with four Pillars, under which they eat and drink in the shade when they visit the Tombs of their Ancestors'. A ceremony called *Surb Khatch*, the Feast of the Cross, took place annually on the night of 26(?) August, according to De Bruyn, when the women kindled fires on the graves of their ancestors; he made a drawing of this scene, which he accurately called *Soerpgaets*. Another popular festival was the feast of St. George, celebrated in the courtyard of St. George's Church the night before the Saint's day, with food, wine, and merrymaking.[64]

The prosperity of Julfa lasted scarcely a hundred years, for by the end of the seventeenth century the special relationship between the Armenians and the Persians became strained. Eventually, persecution forced many families to leave, and large numbers emigrated to India, a country with which Julfa has strong ties. Petros Oskanian, a descendant of a leading Julfa family, was in 1720 an important merchant in Madras and associated with the East India Company. He entertained the Nawab of Arcot when he visited Madras, and obtained from him the monopoly of the import trade to Madras and the interior. At his death in 1751 he left a fortune of 700,000 rupees, as well as other properties.[65]

In the seventeenth century the Armenians were able to establish good relations with the Russian court, which were necessary for the successful operation of their overland trade route to the North Sea. As has already been mentioned, in 1667 the Czar Alexander Mikhailovitch issued an *ukaz* to two Julfa merchants, Stepan Movsisian Ramagovtzi and Grigor Matteosian Kusikian, granting them certain privileges for importing silk from Persia. In 1668 an Englishman called Thomas Brain joined them and was given authority to trade in Russia in the name of the Armenian company. From 1672 to 1673 Kusikian stayed at St. Petersburg as the envoy of the Shah of Persia, to negotiate a trading treaty with the Russians. The Czar frequently received the Armenian merchants in his palace, and on Easter Sunday commanded that they should all come and kiss his hand. When silk factories were set up in Russia, craftsmen were brought from Julfa to dye the silk and teach the skill to the Russians.[66]

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[59] Tournefort, op. cit., iii. 247.

[60] Thévenot, op. cit., p. 218; de Bruyn, op. cit., p. 229.

[61] Tavernier, op. cit., iv. 173; Tournefort, op. cit., pp. 253–5. See Appendix, p. 87.

[62] *Supra*, p. 10, n. 43. The main trade route from Isfahan to the Persian Gulf, India, and the East led southwards through Shiraz and Boushir, both of which towns had large Armenian communities. Some Julfa tombstones have been recorded by Mr. A. Gourgenian, including a few with ships on them; see p. 30.

[63] T. W. Haig, 'Graves of Europeans in the Armenian cemetery at Isfahan', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1919, xi. 321–52, lists 64.

[64] Tavernier, op. cit., v. 244; De Bruyn, op. cit., p. 264, Plate 102.

[65] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. i. 132–3; Mesrob Seth, *The Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1937, pp. 580–7; Petros Oskanian was the great-grandson of Khodja Petros Velidjanian, the builder of the Bethlehem Church at Julfa. Petros Oskanian's portrait hangs in the Museum in Julfa (Plate 84); it was painted in Madras in 1737.

[66] Yovhaniantz, op. cit., pp. 95–99, 175–6.

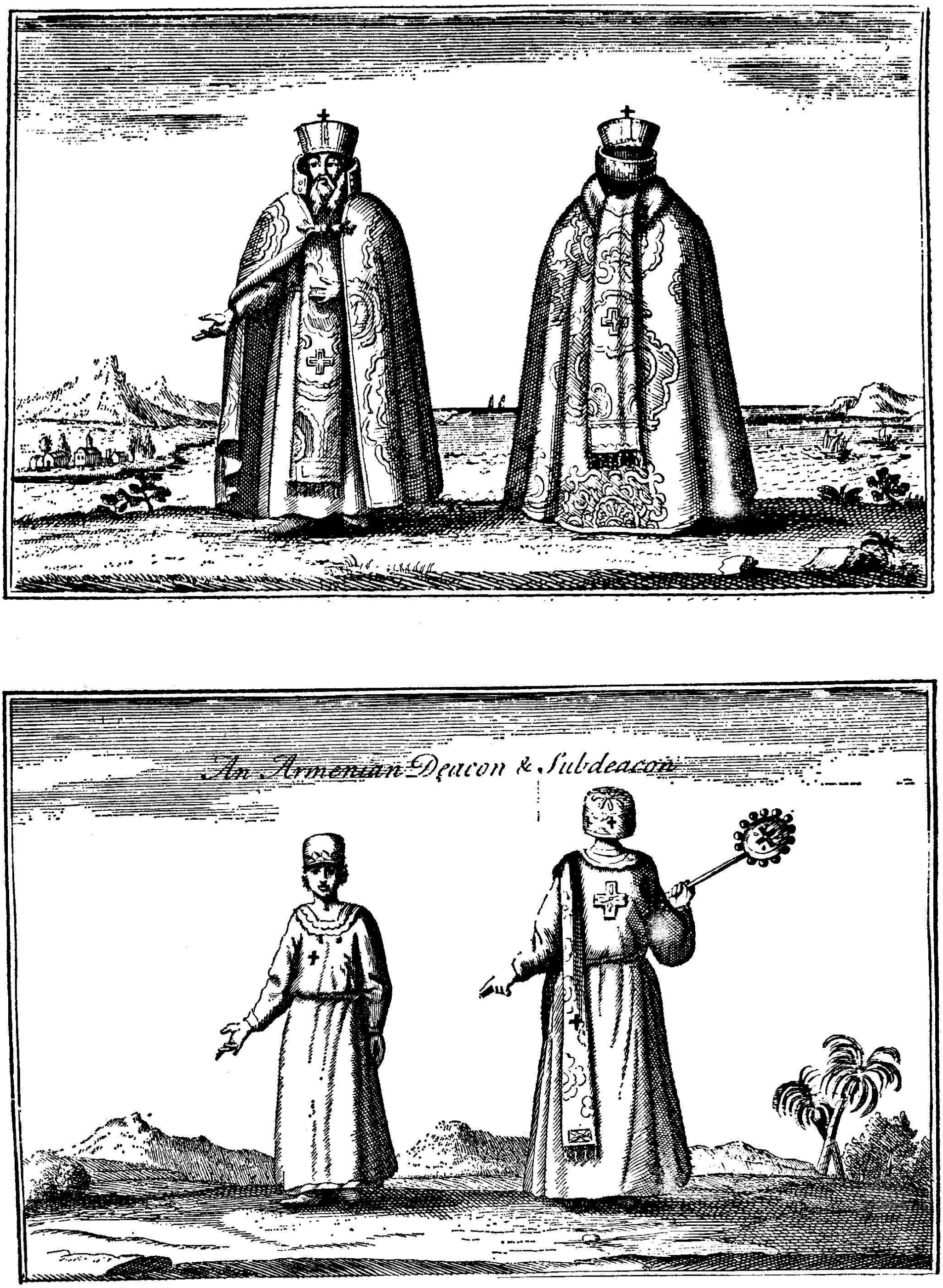
An Armenian Deacon & Subdeacon

Fig. 2. (top) 'Armenian Priests in their Sacerdotal Habits'
(bottom) 'An Armenian Deacon and Subdeacon' (from Tournefort's *Travels*)

In the eighteenth century under Nadir Shah (1736–47) the Armenians in Julfa suffered from excessive taxation, fines, and other penalties, and in 1743 the chief-prince (*ishkhanapet*) Aghazar, son of Nazaret, sent his eldest son to Russia, following himself with his three other sons in 1747. He settled first in Astrakhan, and then in Moscow, where he built a silk and cotton factory. The family prospered, and it was Joachim, one of his sons, who in 1815 founded the Lazarev Institute in Moscow. The Institute was a centre for oriental studies, of great importance to Armenians trading in India and the Far East. They were justifiably proud that it had been founded by one of their Julfa compatriots.[67]

The decline of Julfa thus began in the early eighteenth century,[68] and at the present time there are not more than five hundred families left. The younger generation have been attracted by the greater opportunities offered in Tehran, and in their place many Persians have moved into Julfa and bought property. The circumstances which led to the successful establishment of the Armenian minority in seventeenth-century Persia no longer exist, and only the churches and some older houses remain as a witness of Julfa's past prosperity. The survival of these buildings is a matter of concern, and those who have chosen to remain in Julfa shoulder the responsibility of preserving the traces of this once flourishing community.

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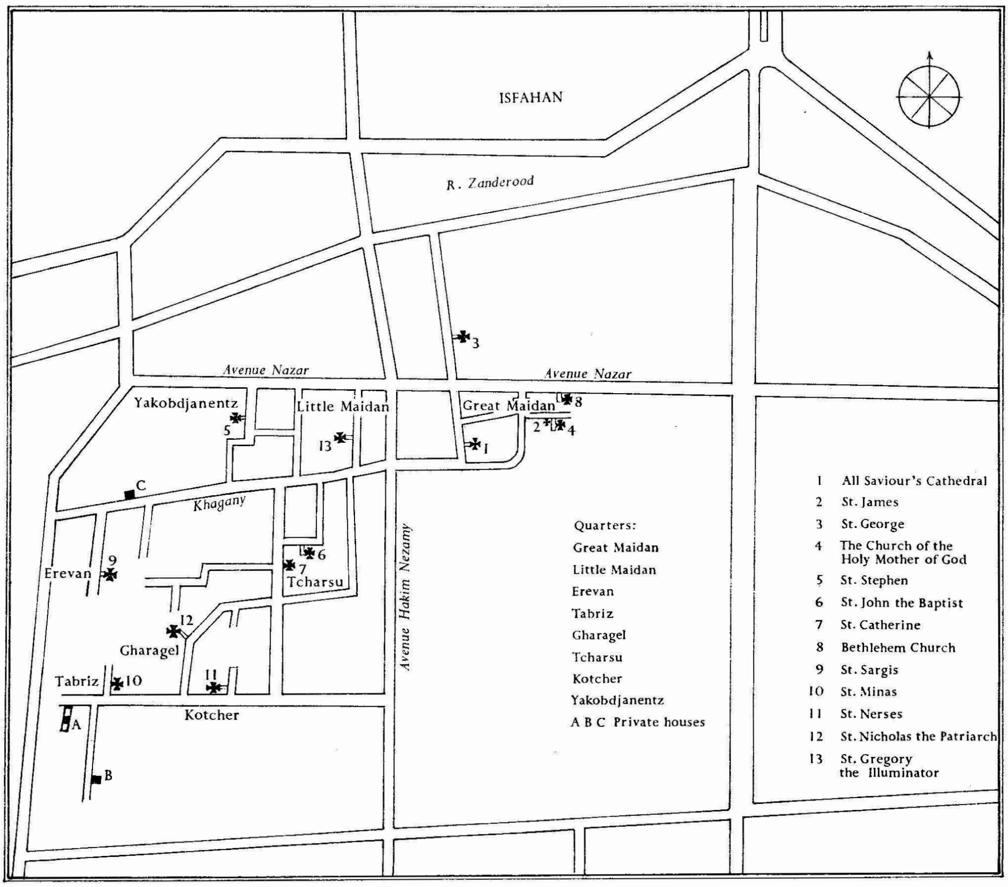
[67] Ibid. Catherine II conferred the rank of noble on Aghazar and his four sons in 1776. His eldest son John was made a baron by Joseph II of Austria in 1786, and a count in 1788. As well as founding the Lazarev Institute, his son Joachim also repaired the Armenian Church in Moscow.

The capital outlay of the Lazarev Institute (now the Institute of the Peoples of the East, *Institut Narodov Azii*) up to 1841 was 1,718,246 roubles. On the 21st anniversary in 1836, the director Graf Beckendorf gave a speech in the presence of Czar Nicholas. The subjects studied were (1) Divine Laws according to the Greek, Russian, and Armenian persuasions (2) Moral and Social Sciences (3) Natural Sciences (4) Literature (5) European and Asiatic languages. The library contained 8,000 volumes. There was a printing-press producing books in Russian and other languages, including works for the teaching of Armenian literature; the printing of an Armenian-Russian dictionary was also undertaken.

[68] For details of the tribulations of the Julfaites in the early eighteenth century, see *The Chronicles of Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz*, (1723), trans. by Dr. C. Minasian, Lisbon, 1959; Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 150–3, 192, 485.

II

THE CHURCHES


ISFAHAN
R. Zanderood
Avenue Nazar
Avenue Nazar
Yakobdjanentz
5
Little Maidan
13
Great Maidan
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Tcharsu
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Gharagel
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Kotcher
B
Avenue Hakim Nezamy
Quarters:
Great Maidan
Little Maidan
Erevan
Tabriz
Gharagel
Tcharsu
Kotcher
Yakobdjanentz
A B C Private houses
1 All Saviour's Cathedral
2 St. James
3 St. George
4 The Church of the Holy Mother of God
5 St. Stephen
6 St. John the Baptist
7 St. Catherine
8 Bethlehem Church
9 St. Sargis
10 St. Minas
11 St. Nerses
12 St. Nicholas the Patriarch
13 St. Gregory the Illuminator

Fig. 3. General plan of Julfa, showing the position of the churches

ARCHITECTURE

The thirteen churches still surviving in Julfa[1] were built between A.D. 1606 and 1728, and the majority of them were complete by 1650. Whilst none of them are identical, they are linked by similarities of plan, construction, and decoration which facilitate their study as a group (Figures 10–23)[2]. Architecturally they are a mixture of Armenian and Persian styles. The Armenian element is to be found in the ground plans and main divisions of the churches, which are dictated by the liturgical requirements of the services and derive from the traditional stone-built churches of Armenia. The Persian influence shows itself in the extensive use of brick-building techniques for the construction of the churches. For parallels one must look to the domed Safavid structures in Isfahan and elsewhere, where the Persian tradition of brick-building reaches its sophisticated climax.

The single feature which immediately links the Julfa churches with the Safavid buildings is the use of a shallow, pointed arch. This arch, used in series with intervening curved barrel-vaults, is a common method of enclosing space. Photographs of private houses in Julfa, now in the course of demolition, show how frequently this constructional method was used, and exactly how it was carried out (Plates 94, 95). Using standard rectangular mud-bricks the pointed arches are constructed of several rows of bricks set vertically end to end; the vault between is made of bricks laid flat, and where it meets another pointed arch at right angles, the bricks are cut to shape and automatically assume the form of a pendentive. After the core of the vaults has been filled in with more bricks and mud, the rough surface is given a coat of mud and chopped straw. A final layer of plaster allows the form of the arches and vaults to be carefully modelled. Plate 93*a* shows a workman giving the final touches to a modern building finished in this technique.

Reputedly the earliest church in Julfa, the little building of St. James (? A.D. 1606) exploits the combination of round arch and curved vault in its simplest form to roof the nave (Figure 11). At the middle, four arches form a square and linked by pendentives support a modest dome pierced by an octagonal light. In the Church of the Holy Mother of God, the Bethlehem Church, and St. Nicholas the Patriarch, this central square plan is used on a grander scale, with pointed arches, and becomes the dominant feature of the churches (Figures 14, 18, 22). In All Saviour's Cathedral and the churches of St. Nerses and St. Gregory the Illuminator, the square plan is repeated twice to form the nave (Figures 10, 21, 23). In St. George's Church it is repeated three times, with the eastern dome raised slightly higher than its two western counterparts (Figure 12). In those churches where the nave is roofed with two domes raised on squares, the areas between the piers are sometimes developed into vaulted bays, with two segmental ribs and shallow vaults between, as in St. George's Church and St. Nerses (Figures 12, 21). Four churches, St. Stephen, St. John the Baptist, St. Sargis, and St. Minas, have aisles to the north and south; here the central arches of the nave spring from free-standing piers, which are linked by further arches and vaults to the walls (Figures 15, 16, 19, 20). The Church of St. John the Baptist, with its square cross plan (Figure 16), has a central square tower with the dome supported on squinches.

All the churches have a raised chancel, with the area to the west raised by a step from the general level of the nave. Except for St. James' Church, all the churches have a semi-octagonal apse to the east of the altar, with a half-dome above, and vestries to the north and south. The vestries are entered from the west, except for the Bethlehem Church and St. Nerses, where they open directly off the chancel. The altars invariably have a stone core beneath their wooden superstructure, with a massive roughly dressed stone slab supported by a pedestal of similar material. The group of stones from the cathedral at Etchmiadzin in the courtyard of St. George's Church includes the two components of a dismantled altar, suggesting that this traditional method of constructing an altar continued to be used in Julfa, however much it might be concealed by further embellishment.

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[1] Besides these, Yovhaniantz lists four more, (in 1881): Nazareth Church, St. Thomas, St. James Baghata, St. John (see p. 11, n. 48).

Père Simon's lists of Armenian churches owing allegiance to the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, supplied by Oskan whom he met in Amsterdam in 1664, includes 20 in Julfa: 'Surb-Astuasasin; Surb-Nicolaus; Surb-Jacub; Surb-Amenaphreic, id est, omnium redemptor et est Monasterium S. Basillii; Surb-Grigor; Surb-Johan; Amirrasthenesi; Karametichens; Portuens; Novacencim; Karachein; S. Jacub; Anapatinn; Erevaneseos magnus; Erevaneseos minor; Gazge; Schsapanin; Ckocinn; Est Conventus Monialium; Chogia Abedik' (op. cit., p. 224).

[2] The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that the figures are sketch plans, not measured drawings.

The groined pendentives supporting the domes, and half-domes above the chancel, are often divided with a tracery of intersecting ribs.[3] In St. George's Church this tracery has been outlined to produce a simple decorative effect; in the cathedral and the Bethlehem Church, similar tracery has been used as a basis for an elaborate decorative scheme. The main domes of the churches are either shallow, and shaped like a lid in section (St. Stephen, St. John the Baptist, St. Sargis, St. Minas, St. Nerses, and St. Nicholas the Patriarch), or onion-shaped (the Cathedral, the Church of the Holy Mother of God, and the Bethlehem Church). An examination of the dome of the Bethlehem Church, which is the largest in Julfa, revealed it to be hollow (Figure 18). An inner and an outer dome are separated by eight brick arms radiating from the exterior of the inner dome to the inside wall of the outer dome, with eight shorter arms between. Although it was not possible to verify this, the onion-shaped domes of the cathedral and the Church of the Holy Mother of God are probably constructed in the same way. The space between the two domes of the Bethlehem Church has been discovered by hundreds of pigeons, who have turned it into a gigantic pigeon-loft.

Belfries are a common feature of the churches, and are usually square in plan, with a circular arcade above housing the bells and supporting a typical Armenian pointed roof with faceted sides. They are situated on the roof, at either the south-west or north-west angle. The cathedral has an additional belfry two stories high, which stands free in the courtyard to the west of the church.

The churches are lit by windows in the walls, or in the drum below the dome; subsidiary domes sometimes have a hexagonal or octagonal opening pierced at the centre, covered with a small lantern with a pointed or domed roof. Doors leading into the churches follow no consistent pattern and are dictated by the relationship of the church to the site in general. Access to the roof of most of the churches is by means of internal staircases in the thickness of the walls.

Four churches have galleries at the west end. In the churches of the Holy Mother of God, St. Stephen, and the Bethlehem Church, the galleries are reinforced by exterior buttresses at the west end, linked by transversearches (Figures 14, 15, 18). In the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator the gallery appears to be a later addition, buttressed by the extension of the church to the west (Figure 23).

All the churches have courtyards adjacent to them, often with a few trees, a small garden, and a well in one corner, surrounded by a high wall. In some of the courtyards there are also graves, marked by horizontal carved slabs level with the paving. Seven of the churches have a common feature, an outside chapel consisting of a raised chancel and altar, with rooms to either side behind an arcade, at the east end of the courtyard and either to the north or south of the church (Figures 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23). These annexe chapels are no longer in use, and it was not possible to find out what was their precise function. They form such a conspicuous part of the overall plan of each church complex that it would suggest they once had some special liturgical significance.

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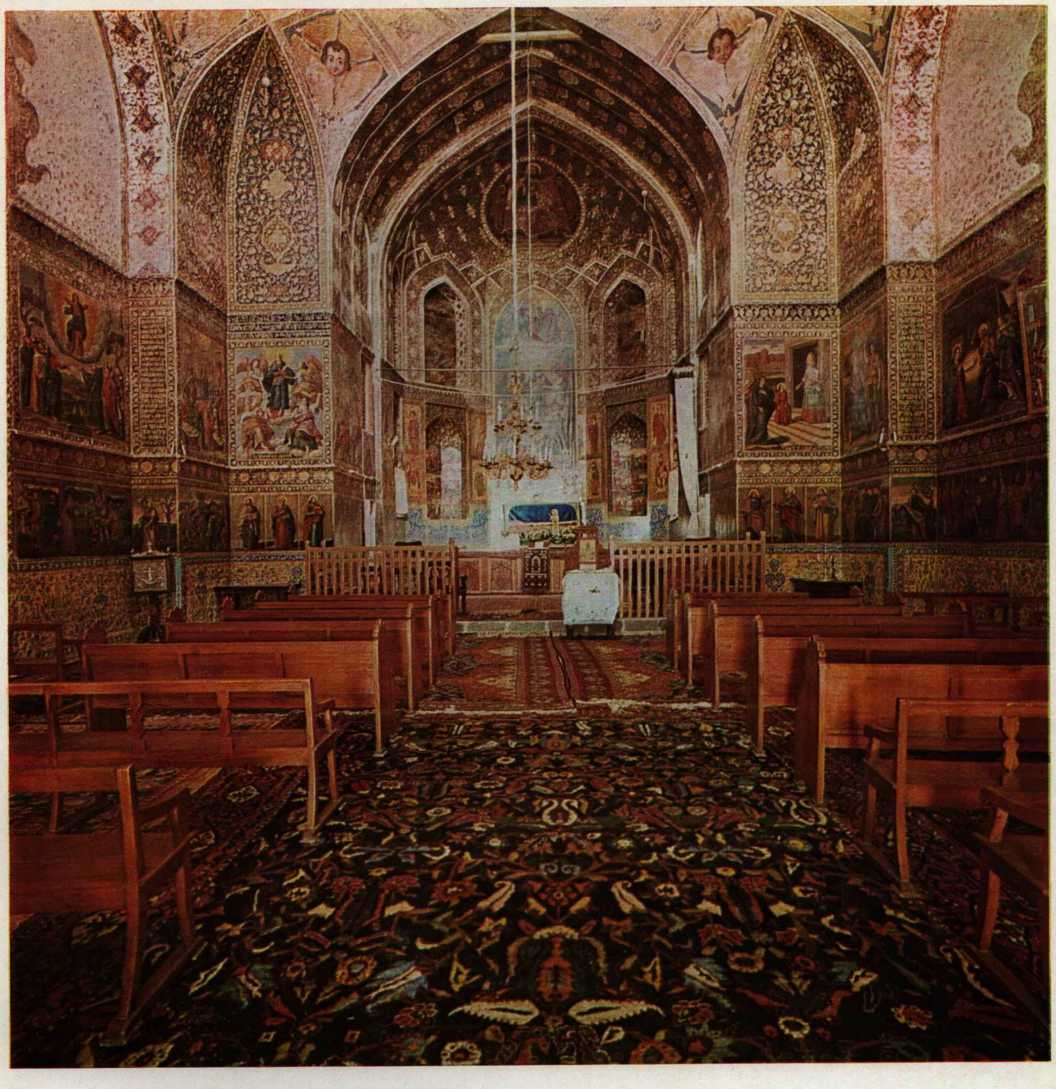
[3] The term pendentive is used in its simple generic sense; Rosintal and Schroeder defined this feature of Safavid architecture more precisely, as a 'squinch net'; see *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope, Oxford, 1938, p. 1254.



II. THE BETHLEHEM CHURCH interior looking east

PAINTINGS

THE paintings in the Julfa churches fall into two categories. There are those painted on canvases or wooden panels, placed above the altar and in various parts of the churches, and there are the wall paintings, which along with panels of tiles and carved stucco are an integral part of the general scheme of decoration.

The canvases and painted panels in the churches can be attributed either to foreign European artists, or to a local school of artists which flourished in Julfa in the seventeenth century which, although heavily influenced by Western models, owed some allegiance as well to Armenian pictorial traditions. Amongst the pictures which are clearly foreign imports are the Italian paintings marouflaged on to the walls of the Church of the Holy Mother of God (Plates 25, 26), and the painted wooden cross from the Church of St. Nicholas the Patriarch (Plate 64). There are also various examples of Italian and Dutch paintings in the Julfa museum (Plates 82, 83). All these pictures must have been acquired by Armenian merchants on their travels to Europe, for from contemporary accounts it is evident that European paintings were amongst those imports from the West which were much sought after in seventeenth-century Persia, and even featured as diplomatic presents.[1] The local products are much less skilful and the attempts to copy Western models are often inept, but they are not without interest inconographically. Julfa had a flourishing school of manuscript illumination in the seventeenth century, and some of the paintings are of traditional subjects treated in a manner which would seem to derive from such sources (Plate 47*a*).[2]

The most complete series of wall paintings that survive are in All Saviour's Cathedral and the Bethlehem Church, but the Church of the Holy Mother of God also appears to have once been similarly decorated. Traces of wall paintings remain in the churches of St. Stephen, St. Catherine, St. Sargis, St. Minas, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, although it is difficult to estimate how large an area of these churches was originally covered with this type of decoration. As far as can be ascertained without analysis, the paintings appear to have been painted directly on the plastered walls with pigment mixed with some kind of oil medium. They are semi-matt in appearance, and apart from surface dirt, those that have survived are in remarkably good condition.

The wall paintings in All Saviour's Cathedral form a very complete cycle of Old and New Testament illustrations, and provide a suitable basis for the study of the Julfa school of painting as a whole. They are also sufficiently accomplished to raise the question of whether they were the work of local artists, or foreign painters employed by Armenian patrons. A valuable paper has already been written about them by Dr. T. S. R. Boase, which has laid the foundation for any subsequent study.[3] After a brief historical introduction describing the Armenian emigration, he quotes Arak'el of Tabriz, who tells how the Armenians decorated their new churches 'with paintings of the divine mysteries and images of the Saints'. Boase describes the disposition of the paintings in the cathedral in detail, and the manner in which the two bands of Old and New Testament subjects are linked together in related pairs of subjects to form a typological series. With the exception of the two lower rows of paintings and the panels at the sides of the chancel, he identifies the paintings stylistically as the work of an artist, or group of artists, belonging to the Italo-Flemish schools of the late seventeenth century. Noting justly that they are undistinguished but not inexperienced, and that Western artists were employed by the Safavids, he leaves the question of the precise identity of the painters open. In conclusion, he points out the similarity between many of the compositions and Christoffel Van Sichem's engraved illustrations to the first printed Armenian Bible, produced in Amsterdam in 1666.

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[1] Deslandes, op. cit., (see Appendix, p. 84); Du Mans, op. cit., appendix, p. 354; Figueroa, op. cit., p. 111; L. Bellan, *Chah Abbas I*, Paris, 1932, p. 288: two French Capuchins presented Shah Abbas in 1628 with portraits of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria. See also *Chronicles of Carmelites*, i. 303, 404.

[2] There are 22 MSS. in the Julfa museum dated between 1639 and 1659. Of the four it was possible to examine (nos. 42 (1651) *Plate 93*; 92 (1654); 304 (1651); and 594 (1654) *Plate 92*, two were illuminated. The paintings were not of a high standard.

[3] T. S. R. Boase, 'A seventeenth-century typological cycle of paintings in the Armenian Cathedral in Julfa', *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. xiii, nos. 3–4, 1950.

A comparison between some of Van Sichem's engravings (Figures 4–9) and the paintings that they inspired shows that, far from being slavish copies, the wall paintings are often free interpretations of the compositions, and in some cases, such as *The Adoration of the Magi*, are superior to the originals. In the latter painting (Plate 11), the engraving (Figure 4) is sensibly modified to fit into a differently proportioned panel, but whilst the background has been simplified, the figures have been considerably enriched by the patterning of their robes, and all the heads are simply and powerfully modelled. On the other hand, the painter of *Christ among the Doctors* (Plate 9) has compressed the composition of the engraving and lost control of the various planes indicated by the steps in the original (Figure 5), ending up with a series of conflicting vanishing points.

The suspicion that the paintings are not all the work of a single hand is confirmed by an examination of other paintings in the upper part of the cathedral, where there is a considerable discrepancy of execution. It is hardly conceivable that the painter of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, who is completely master of his subject, could have painted the awkwardly rendered *Christ carrying the Cross* immediately below it (Plate 8). A simple test of an artist's skill is his ability to model form through an understanding of the principle of cast shadows and reflected light, and this can be applied here as a means of elucidating the work of different hands. In some paintings the forms are fully modelled by these means and exist in a shallow space, but in many of the less impressive pictures the shadow is simply increased towards the edge of the form, producing a stiff, two-dimensional effect instead of the intended plasticity. For instance, the *Last Judgement* (Plate 7), on the north wall, appears to be largely the work of inexperienced artists; the unclothed figures in Hell, albeit the product of a vivid imagination, are modelled with none of the skill shown in the depiction of Potiphar's half-clothed wife in the painting immediately to the right.[4]

This leads one to surmise, in the absence of any tradition of handling plastic form in space in either Persian or Armenian art up till this period, that it is probable that the paintings in the upper part of the cathedral were planned and partly executed by a European painter (or at least by a painter highly trained in the European tradition), who collaborated with local and less skilful assistants.

This conjecture is not difficult to sustain, as the presence of European painters in Isfahan, and in Persia, in the seventeenth century is testified to by several contemporary writers. Pietro della Valle travelled from Venice with a Flemish painter, 'Giovanni', who left his service in Isfahan to work for Shah Abbas I at an annual salary of 1,000 *zecchini*, 'perche tra' Persiani era unico nel dissegno'. Later the Shah sent Giovanni back to Europe, to Flanders and France, with a commission to find other painters to work in Persia.[5] Herbert mentions 'John, a Dutch-man' (who might well be the same painter), who had long served the Shah and practised his art 'to the admiration of the Persians and his own advantage'.[6] In Tavernier's time there were two Dutchmen in Shah Abbas II's service who taught him how to draw, so that the Shah was able to furnish his own patterns of cups, trenchers and a dagger that he commissioned Tavernier to obtain from abroad.[7] Travellers such as Fryer and de

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[4] The part of the *Last Judgement* on which Christ is painted shows evidence of a blocked window, which corresponds to the window in the south wall opposite; this suggests that this painting was executed after the general remodelling of the church.

[5] Della Valle, op. cit., iii. 74, and *Delle Conditioni di Abbas Re di Persia*, Venice, 1628, pp. 42–3. Giovanni painted portraits in Constantinople and Cairo, and sketched antiquities. In Isfahan he drew the elephants in the Shah's menagerie, and made a portrait of M. Maani, della Valle's Assyrian bride.

[6] Herbert, op. cit., p. 175. A Carmelite (*Chronicles*, i. 404) mentions a Dutch painter in 1655, who worked for Shah Abbas II.

[7] Tavernier, op. cit., iv. 183. Shah Abbas (?II) sent a Persian painter to Rome to study, Muhammed Zaman; see N. Manucci, *Storia di Mogor*, tr. W. Irvine, pp. 17–18. Three paintings by M. Zaman were added to the famous *Khamseh* of Nizami, made for Shah Tahmasp (Brit. Mus. OR 2265).

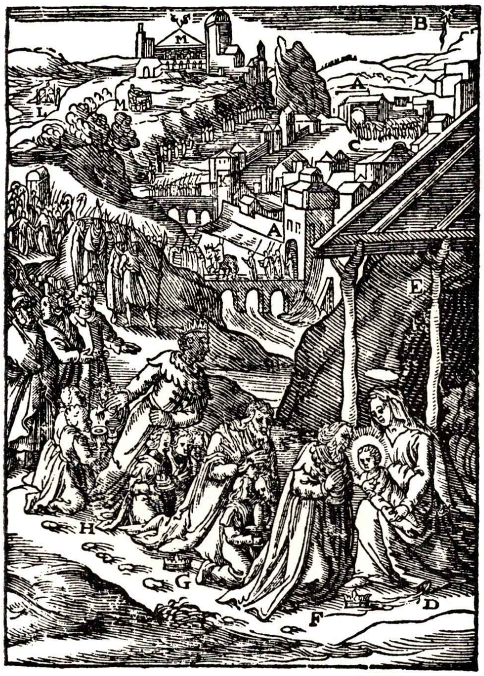
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Fig. 4. The Adoration of the Magi

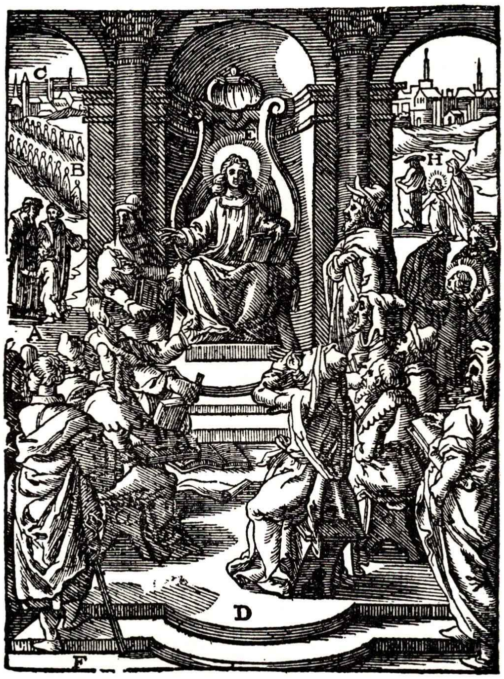

Fig. 5. Christ Among the Doctors

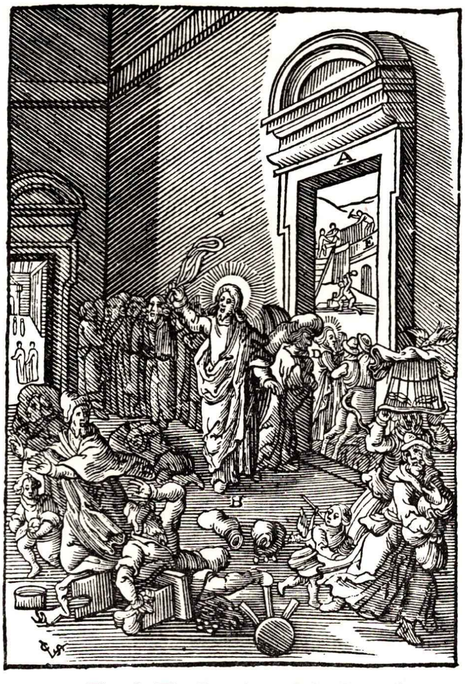

Fig. 6. The Purging of the Temple

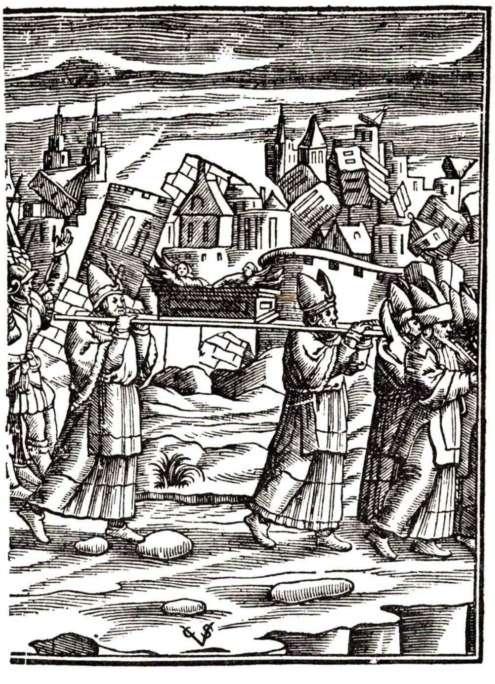

Fig. 7. The Ark brought into Jerusalem

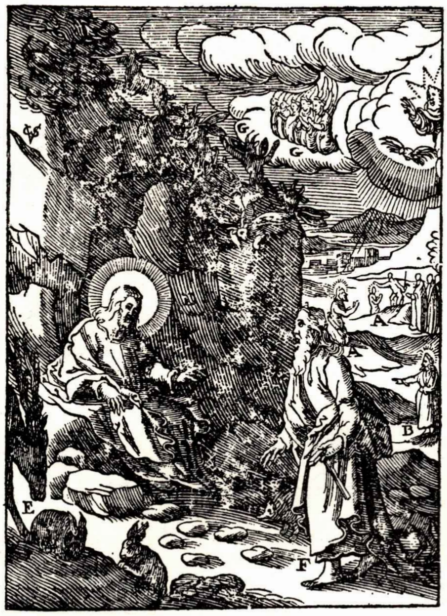

Fig. 8. The Temptation of Christ

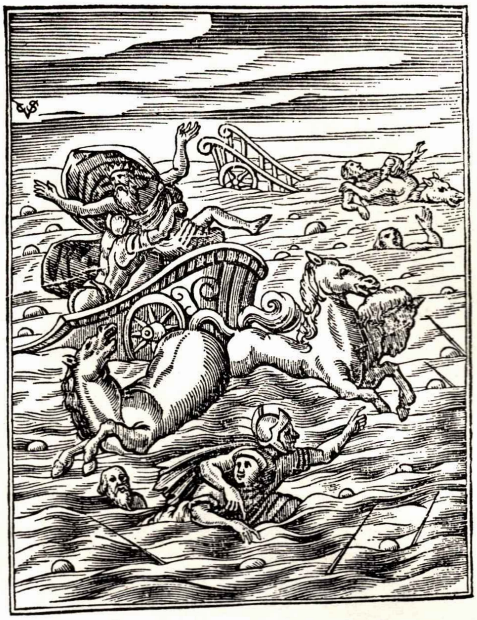

Fig. 9. The Destruction of Pharaoh's Host

Bruyn were scornful of what they considered the ineptitude of the Persian artists who continued to work in the traditional miniature style.[8] De Bruyn also records that there was a German painter in Isfahan 'a little before my time' who had studied painting in Italy and painted a history-piece for the Shah, for which he was never paid.[9] In 1618, Figueroa saw the Shah's country house at Tajurabat, on the road to Qazvin, decorated with paintings by a recently deceased Greek painter called Jules, who had studied in Italy.[10] At Ashraf, various paintings in the royal palace were said to be partly the work of European artists.[11] Finally, in the cemetery at Julfa, there is the much-damaged tombstone of an English artist.[12]

Any foreign artist working in Isfahan would have lived in Julfa, along with the other foreigners, and would have naturally come into contact with the Armenians who built the churches. Those Armenians who had travelled and admired the decoration of Western churches would have been quick to grasp the chance to have their own churches decorated in this novel and unorthodox style. As to the specific identity of the foreign artist concerned, this remains so far a matter for speculation. However, the use of Van Sichem's engravings from a recent Dutch edition, the known presence of Dutch artists in Isfahan in the seventeenth century, and the close link the Armenians had with Amsterdam, where their merchants were established, all indicate that it was probably a Dutchman.[13] As for his assistants, there was an Armenian painter in the seventeenth century named Minas who studied in Aleppo with European artists, and who decorated the houses of rich Armenians in Julfa with the help of

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[8] Fryer, op. cit., p. 369; De Bruyn, op. cit., p. 220: 'Indeed I cannot say [of a Persian painter] he knew anything of lights and shades, and in this all the country are ignorant, whence it is that their paintings are very imperfect.'

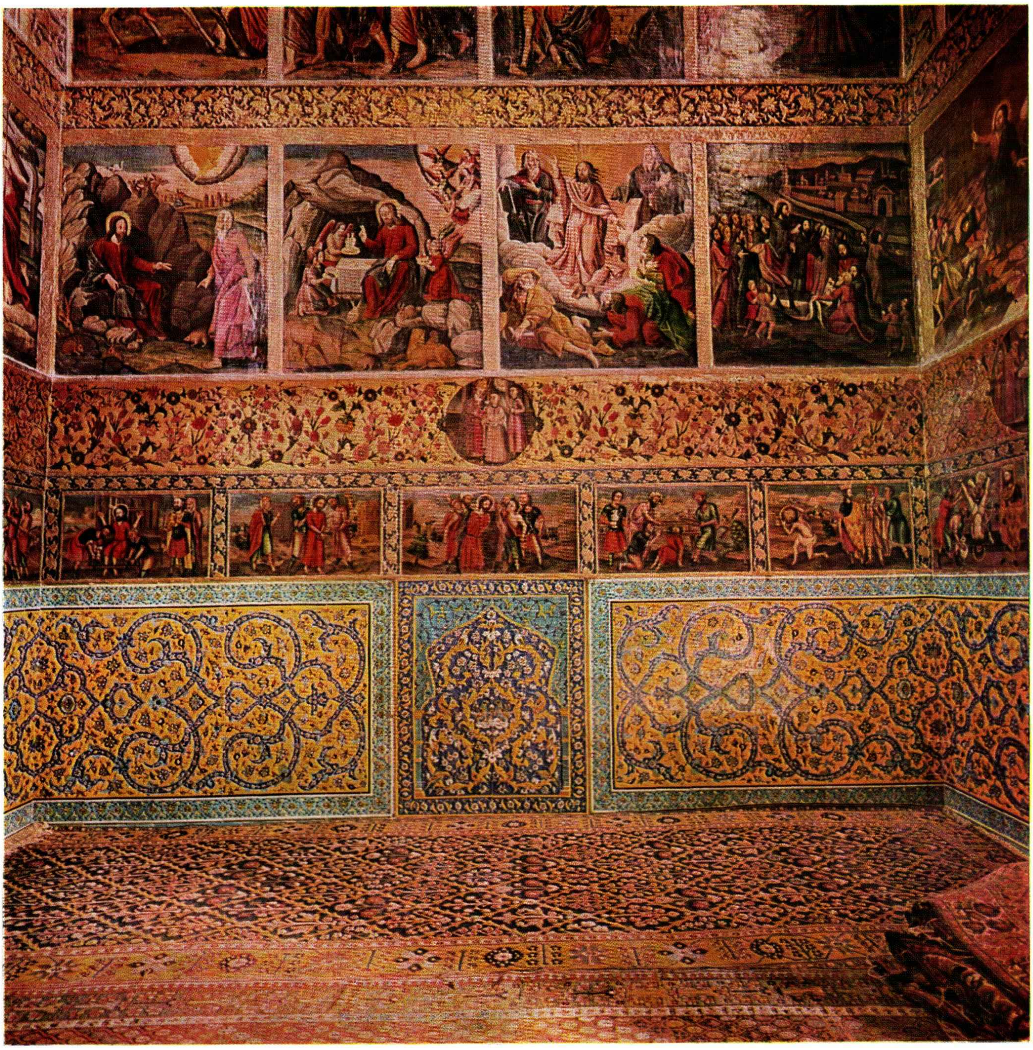
[9] De Bruyn, op. cit., p. 220.

[10] Figueroa, op. cit., pp. 204–5.

[11] Haentzsche, quoted by L. Morgenstern, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, 'Mural painting' (p. 1387), with other references to European painters working in Persia. The paintings at Ashraf included figures of Persians, Georgians, Chinese, and an Englishman of the period of James I.

[12] I am indebted to Dr. Minasian for this information.

[13] Italian influence was marked on Dutch painting in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, and adherents of the foreign style were employed to decorate Dutch interiors almost without exception during this period. Thus it was inevitable that Dutch painters should complete their training in Italy, and this led to some venturing further afield. After Peter the Great stayed in Holland, Dutch artists visited Russia; others went to Turkey and the Near East, and some entered the service of the United East India Company. Cornelis de Bruyn is a pertinent example, as he studied first in Rome, before visiting the Near East, Russia, and Persia. See J. Timmers, *A History of Dutch Life and Art*, 1959, pp. 131, 164. *Biographie Universelle*, 1843, vi. 74, De Bruyn.



III. ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL west half of south wall

Upper band, *The Temptation*, *Angels Minister to Christ*, *The Transfiguration*, and *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*
Lower band, scenes from *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator*

his pupils. Arak‘el records the names of two painters who worked in Julfa, one who was also called Minas, and another called Hyrapiet.[14]

Regarding the date of the paintings in the upper part of the cathedral, it is apposite to mention a manuscript in the Julfa museum in which the illustrations of *St. John the Baptist* and the *Adoration of the Magi* (Plate 10) show some similarity to the wall paintings of the same subjects. According to the colophon, dated 1658, the manuscript was illuminated by a priest called Stepanos with the aid of his three sons. This has led some to conjecture that Stepanos may have taken a hand in decorating the cathedral, but a glance at the two versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* is enough to dispel such an idea; the manuscript version is obviously a crude copy of the wall painting. As the manuscript is dated 1658,[15] it provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *Adoration of the Magi* wall painting, and in general for the whole series to which it belongs.

With this date in mind, the suggestion that the paintings were based on the engravings in the Amsterdam Bible of 1666 would be untenable. However, this does not rule out the use of Van Sichem's engravings, as they had previously appeared in a Dutch Bible of 1646, and some of them in a series of New Testament illustrations (including the *Adoration of the Magi*) printed in Louvain as early as 1629.[16] Thus an earlier edition of the engravings could have been copied in Julfa, and the wall paintings may be dated to the middle rather than the late seventeenth century. Minasian has also noted an inscription on the north wall of the cathedral which bears this out, reading: ‘On February 16th 1669, Khodja Awetik‘ died, who caused the church to be painted . . .’ The English traveller, John Fryer, who visited Julfa in 1677, noted that ‘the Roof or Vault of the Arches, the Side-Walls and Posts of the Cathedral, are all Painted with Sacred Histories’, which indicates that the paintings were certainly complete by then.[17] According to Minasian, the cathedral, which was originally constructed in 1606, was rebuilt between 1655 and 1664, and it would seem probable that the paintings were executed during that period. A stucco inscription on the north wall of the chancel is dated 1661 (Plate 10).

As well as the paintings in the upper part of the cathedral, there are two lower rows of paintings which do not belong to the scheme of typed Old and New Testament subjects, and which are altogether more crudely painted. These consist of parables and some scenes from the Gospels painted in ovals on an illuminated gold border, with a band of painted panels below with further scenes from the life of Christ, and the life and martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator. (Plate III). These paintings were apparently the work of a monk called Hovhanes Merquz, and added later in the seventeenth century to the existing scheme of decoration. Hovhanes Merquz was a gifted scholar and theologian, who died at the age of 80, in 1715; a bearded monk in the lower row of paintings to the north of the chancel is believed to represent him.[18] One scene in the middle of the south wall, from the St. Gregory sequence, conceals a blocked entrance which corresponds on the plan to the north door opposite, which is covered with tiles dated 1709/10. The tiles immediately below the lower row of paintings in the west half of the church (Plate III) are similar to those in the annexe of the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, which was built in 1713/14 (Plate 68). As Hovhanes Merquz is unlikely to have decorated the church in the year before he died, it may be assumed that his paintings were done some years previously and that when the tiles were added they were the final element in the total scheme.

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[14] Morgenstern, op. cit., p. 1385. Arak'el (Etchmiadzin ed.), p. 14. Dr. Minasian informs me that recent research in Erevan has revealed that a painter called Sulthanum Astvasatur from Julfa was invited to the Russian Imperial Court in 1665, where he founded a school of his own under the name of Boghanov.

[15] Julfa museum, MS. no. 219. The colophon reads: ‘Again remember in Christ the Illuminator priest Stepanos —and his sons Malum, Vardan and Muradjian, who illuminated this with various colours . . .’

Minasian has drawn attention to the name Stepanos on the lower part of a painting of the Virgin Mary on the north wall of the chancel: ‘O, Virgin Saint, have mercy on priest Stepanos the picture-maker.’ There is some similarity between the marginal illustration of *St. John the Baptist* in the manuscript, and the wall painting on the south wall of the chancel. This painting is much less accomplished than the other paintings in the upper part of the cathedral, and with the painting of the Virgin opposite might be isolated examples of Stepanos' work. The reference to him as a ‘picture-maker’ may well refer to his prowess as an illustrator, rather than as a wall-painter.

The MS. illustration of *The Adoration of the Magi*, like the wall painting, also shows the cloaks of the Magi as patterned, a feature not occurring in Van Sichem's engraving.

[16] *Biblia Sacra*, Anvers, J. Paets (2 vols.), 1646. *Zeilen (den) lusthof (Bibels tresoor)*, Louvain, Jacobz, 1629. See also A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to the History of Woodcut* (New York, 1935), pp. 11–13; and M. Funck, *Le Livre Belge à Gravures* (Paris, 1925), p. 257.

Some of Van Sichem's engravings also appeared in the *Sharakan* (Armenian hymnal) printed by Oskan in Amsterdam in 1664; this was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1685 and in Livorno in 1692. Van Sichem's engravings again illustrate the Armenian Bible printed in Constantinople in 1705.

The Amsterdam Bible (1666) contains 252 of Van Sichem's engravings, a few of which are after Dürer.

[17] Fryer, op. cit., pp. 269–70.

[18] See M. Thaghiadiantz, *Azgaser*, Calcutta, 1845, vol. i, no. 12, p. 96; and Yovhaniantz, op cit. vol. ii. 14–15.

A translation of the numerous carved stucco and other inscriptions associated with the paintings would be useful as a possible source of their date and origin. Further detailed study of all the paintings and decoration in relation to the plan of the building should provide more chronological evidence, and help to determine which parts of the complex scheme are by a European painter, and which by his local assistants.

TILES

THE tile friezes in the Julfa churches are amongst the finest existing panels of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tiles made in Persia, and are remarkable both for the originality of their designs and for the skill with which they were painted. The tile friezes which have dated Armenian inscriptions are also valuable as comparative material for dating Persian tiles in general.

The Persian name for tiles of the type found in the churches is *haft rangi*, meaning 'seven colours'.[1] These tiles are made by the *cuerda seca* method: the tiles are first fired with a white ground, on to which the design is transferred by means of powdered charcoal and a pricked cartoon, and then outlined with a fine brush dipped in a greasy liquid. Next the different coloured glazes, yellow, cobalt blue, turquoise, brown, apple green, and purple, are applied within the outlines with a large brush. When the tiles are fired for a second time, the dark outline, or *cuerda seca*, repels the colours and holds them within their allotted space.[2]

This method is swifter than the older decorative technique of tile mosaic, where the individual design elements are sawn out of monochrome tiles and then fitted together and set in plaster. By the seventeenth century, *cuerda seca* tiles had largely replaced tile mosaic as a means of decorating the new mosques and buildings constructed by the Safavids, and Isfahan was one of the major tile-producing centres. The technique of painting polychrome tiles under the glaze, developed to perfection in sixteenth-century Turkey, has no parallel in Persia and the *cuerda seca* method continues in use in Persia up to the present day, long after it has been superseded further west.

The designs of the Julfa tile friezes are full of vitality and movement (Plate IV). They occupy a sequence of many tiles and fully exploit the juxtaposition of thick, glowing colours and coloured ground. The motifs are predominantly naturalistic, with many different kinds of trees, plants, flowers, birds, and animals, thus echoing traditional Persian taste, and Chinese influence is also detectable, for cloud-scrolls, dragons, and phoenixes occur frequently in the designs. These were probably copied from the Chinese porcelain imported into Persia in the seventeenth century, which greatly influenced Persian ceramics.[3] One Julfa tile panel has as its central motif a blue-and-white Chinese vase painted with a landscape (Plate 53).

That the tiles were the work of Armenian craftsmen may be assumed from the prominent part that elaborate Armenian inscriptions play in some of them, and the panels were often

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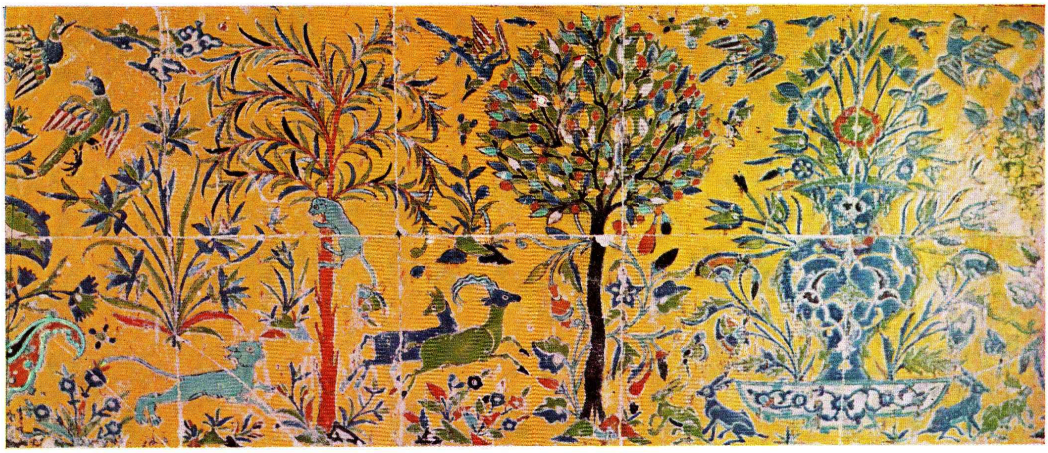
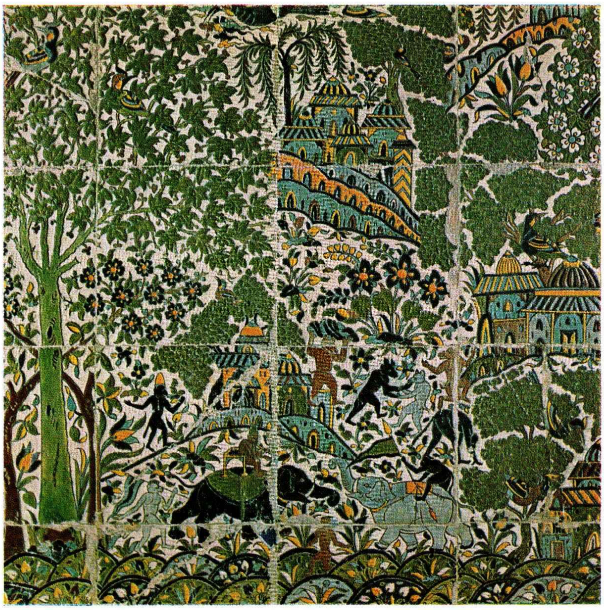
[1] Pope, op. cit., p. 1349, suggests that the seven colours 'were those that distinguished each of the seven heavens of the ancient Babylonian tradition which had been taken over at least by the Median period'; whatever symbolic ancestry they may have had, today the term *haft rangi* simply refers to the seven colours, yellow, blue, turquoise, brown, green, purple, and white, used in the technique.

[2] *Cuerda seca* (lit. 'dry cord') was originally used to describe a particular type of 16th. cent. Spanish tile made by this method, and has now passed into general ceramic terminology.

[3] Volker, op. cit., pp. 97, 183, 191, gives details of ships owned or captained by Armenians which were engaged in the porcelain trade from the Far East to Persia. Plates 11, 75, show paintings illustrating the use of blue-and-white pottery.



A



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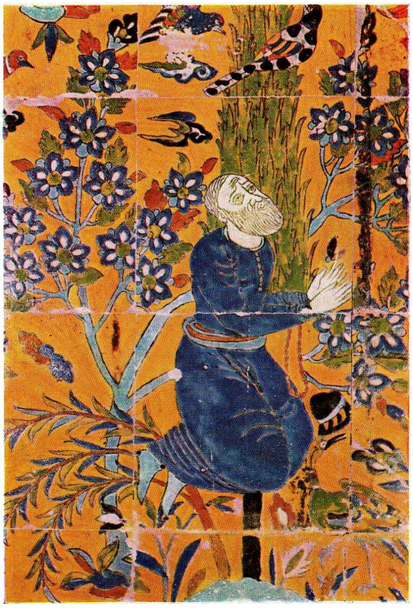

C

IV. A. CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD detail of tiles on the chancel front

B. CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS detail of tiles on north wall

C. CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD detail of tiles on the north wall, showing the donor made to fit specific locations in the churches. Although the tiles are technically similar to those that decorate the Persian mosques in Isfahan, they differ in being more varied and freely designed, quite apart from their Armenian inscriptions and often specifically Christian subjects.

The churches of the Holy Mother of God, St. Stephen, St. Sargis, and the Bethlehem Church are decorated with tile friezes. In the Church of the Holy Mother of God the tiles occupy the lower part of the walls round the interior of the church, with a continuous Armenian inscription at the top which has so far not been translated. On the north wall the tiles include in the design of trees and flowers a kneeling figure, presumably a portrait of their donor (Plate IVc). Yovhaniantz says these tiles were installed between 1651–66; another Armenian source quoted by Pope dates them 1661–9.[4] In All Saviour's Cathedral the tile frieze at the west end of the church (Plate III) is more abstract in design and probably dates from the early eighteenth century, if the tiles on the jambs of the north door, dated 1709/10 (Plate 12), are to be considered contemporary. The annexe of the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, which was constructed in 1713/14, contains similar tiles (Plate 68). The chancel walls of the cathedral are decorated with a frieze of a different character, inscribed and dated 1715/16; these tiles are covered with a repeating pattern of arabesque leaves, flowers, and angels modestly clad in long gowns holding garlands (Plate 12).

In the Julfa churches, there are four figure compositions executed in *cuerda seca* tiles, specially designed to fit as shaped panels over doorways. Above the north door of St. George's Church is the earliest panel, dated 1619, depicting *The Adoration of the Magi* (Plate 20). In the same church above the west door is another panel, of *The Annunciation*, dated 1716/17 (Plate 19). Above the west door of the cathedral is a second *Annunciation* panel, also dated 1717 but differently treated (Plate 13), and above the south door of the Church of St. Sargis is a third version of the same subject, dated 1705 (Plate 52).

Although the four tile panels are successful as decoration, the treatment of the figures in them is very primitive, suggesting that the artists were unfamiliar with tiles as a medium for depicting religious subjects. They may have been inspired by Safavid tile panels with figure compositions, of which a typical example from the Chihil Sutun palace in Isfahan, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows a Persian drinking-party in a garden setting.[5] These Persian panels are related to manuscript paintings of similar scenes, and the figures are much more sophisticatedly drawn than those on the Armenian tiles.

In the cathedral and the churches of St. George and the Holy Mother of God, tiles were made specially to decorate the front of the chancel platform, with panels diminishing in scale to fit the edges of the steps on either side (Plates IV*a*, 4, 18, 20, 24). In St. George's Church an opening in the centre of the chancel front, giving access to a vault beneath the altar, is framed with tiles cut to form an arch, painted with two angels' heads and a bird. Other square tiles with angels' heads on them are set diagonally on the outer walls of the cathedral; these are of uncertain date.

On the north wall of the Church of St. Sargis are two unusual tile friezes, painted with jungle-like scenes, with oriental pavilions, trees and flowers, and a variety of animals and birds, including leopards, deer, foxes, ducks, and fighting elephants ridden by monkeys (Plates IVb, 54, 55). The tropical character of the landscape leads one to consider whether the tiles might have been made in India, as *cuerda seca* tiles from that country are known;[6] but technically they resemble Isfahan tiles, rather than the Indian ones, which are of earthenware. The foreground is composed of hoops and flower motifs, in a manner commonly seen on *pintados*, or painted cottons, from south India. They are probably a local product inspired by imported *pintados*.[7] They have been rearranged on the walls and some tiles are out of sequence, which suggests that they were moved from elsewhere to their present location. Between the two panels is a third panel of tiles painted with leafy spirals, each with a rose at the centre (Plate 53*a*). On the same wall is a heterogeneous collection of tiles of different designs, including one tile broken into two parts painted with Armenian characters (Plate 53*d*).

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[4] Yovhaniantz, op. cit., ii. 191. Pope, op. cit., p. 1350, quoting Mr. Sarkis Apcar.

[5] ibid., p. 1350, Plate 547; a similar panel is in the Metropolitan Museum, and a further example was in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin.

[6] There are examples of seventeenth-century Indian *cuerda seca* tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, from the tomb of the Mohammadan Saint Madavi, near But-Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir; and the tomb of Asaf Khan (died A.D. 1641) at Shahdara, near Lahore. The tiles made of red earthenware, and painted with floral designs in the *cuerda seca* technique in yellow, purple, orange, grey-blue, turquoise, pale green, cobalt blue, and white; 20 cm. square.

Apart from *cuerda seca* tiles, there are some rare examples of underglaze blue decorated tiles in the churches of St. Sargis and St. Stephen (Plate 29). These tiles are technically defective; the white ground is generally badly discoloured and the colour almost invariably tends to have run in firing. Like much seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Persian underglaze decorated pottery, the tiles are limited in colour to shades of cobalt blue outlined with black. The square tiles are painted with a feeble floral motif, and the accompanying border tiles with an innocuous pattern of flowers and leaves.

In the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator the skirting is composed of alternate triangular white, and square turquoise tiles set diagonally. At the angles are yellow tiles, triangular in section, painted with purple-black chevrons. These tiles appear to be of eighteenth-century or even later manufacture.

The annexe to the Church of St. Minas is decorated with nineteenth-century tiles, of the crude Qajar type, with liberal use of a fierce rose-pink.[8] Above the west door of the Bethlehem Church is an attractively designed inscription of better quality tiles of the late nineteenth century, dated 1899.

The exterior walls of several churches are embellished with a mosaic of tiles and small bricks, sometimes raised and set at an angle to form a pattern in relief. Fine examples of this type of decoration are to be seen on the west doorway of the cathedral and the belfry opposite (Plate V), and round the north and west doors, and on the facade of the annexe, of St. George's Church. Such patterns of small tiles and raised bricks are found frequently on Persian mosques and buildings; the Julfa examples differ only in the inclusion of crosses in the patterns, as Christian symbols.

[7] See pp. 47, 59, for *pintados* imported to Julfa. Olearius mentions a banquet in Julfa in 1637 at which 'they laid an *Indian* cotton cloath'; see Appendix, p. 80.

[8] Similarly coloured polychrome tiles decorate the Vekil mosque, in Shiraz.

STUCCO DECORATION

THERE are complex schemes of stucco decoration in All Saviour's Cathedral and the Bethlehem Church. The Church of the Holy Mother of God was once similarly decorated, but the original work has deteriorated and been largely replaced by ugly nineteenth-century painted ornament. There are also traces of seventeenth-century stucco decoration, in the churches of St. Stephen, St. Catherine, and St. Minas, generally confined to the chancel area.

Carved stucco has a long tradition in Persian art, and it was frequently used as an interior finish in the Safavid period.[1] The floral or geometric patterns were first carved in slight relief in plaster and then gilded, the background being painted blue to emphasize the design. Such decoration is particularly well adapted to the dimly-lit Armenian churches, the gold highlights catching the light and gleaming against the dark interiors. The finest examples of the technique are the domes of the cathedral and the Bethlehem Church, with their supporting piers

[1] Pope, op. cit., p. 1351. The Portugese Augustine missionary, Antonio de Gouvea (b. 1575), was allowed by Shah Abbas to erect a convent and church in Isfahan (before A.D. 1611), and the Shah himself defrayed the cost of the decoration of the walls in blue and gold arabesque. The two buildings were closed in 1621 by the Shah. See A. T. Wilson, *Early Spanish and Portuguese Travellers in Persia*, Guildford, 1927, p. 24 (quoting A. de Gouvea, Lisbon, 1611). Similar decoration was frequently used in the Persian buildings in Isfahan, such as the Ali Qapu, and other palaces.

and pendentives, where the intricate ornament appears almost to float away from the blue ground (Plate I). In the cathedral the stucco and the wall paintings on the upper walls form part of a totally conceived plan and must have been executed at approximately the same time. In the chancel there is an Armenian stucco inscription dated A.D. 1661 (Plate 10), and other inscriptions in the churches are evidence that the technique was practised by Armenian craftsmen.

Another type of decoration used extensively on the lower part of the walls of All Saviour's Cathedral consists of a frieze of gilded plaster painted in polychrome with floral designs, angels' heads, and somersaulting cherubs (Plates III, 7, 11). Angels' heads painted on a gold ground also decorate the pendentives.

Two stucco panels of a more primitive nature, in St. Stephen's Church, are set in the walls above the north and south doors. One of them, carved with figures depicting *The Annunciation*, surrounds a carved stone inscription dated A.D. 1642/3 (Plate 27).

ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL

SURB AMENAPERKITCH

According to Yovhaniantz, the cathedral was begun in 1108 (A.D. 1658–9) and finished in 1112 (A.D. 1662–3), but these dates must refer to the rebuilding of an earlier structure. In 1619 the traveller Figueroa refers to a church, 'la grand Eglise, ou Evesché', which was apparently the cathedral[1] (Plate V).

The nave plan is a double cross linked by pointed arches (Figure 10). The western arm is covered by a shallow dome on pendentives; the eastern arm is surmounted by an onion-shaped dome on a drum, supported by pendentives. The brick dome is probably hollow, and constructed with an inner and an outer face like the dome of the Bethlehem Church. Above the west door, on the roof, is a belfry with two bells.

At the east end of the cathedral, the raised chancel and altar are surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse, with a half-dome above; to the north and south are vestries (Plate 4). From an opening in the centre of the tiled chancel front, steps lead down to two parallel vaults running north-south under the altar, containing tombs and various stone crosses.

There is a single door in the west wall; another door, in the north wall, leads into a covered arcade with a porch and two adjoining rooms to the north. One room is used for reception purposes; the second houses a notable collection of paintings by Mr. Apraham Gourgenian of the carved tombstones in the Julfa cemetery (Plate 96).

The exterior of the cathedral is decorated with mosaic panels of monochrome tiles and small raised bricks in the spandrels (Plate 3). There are also single square *cuerda seca* tiles, set diagonally, painted with the heads of angels.

To the west of the church stands a two-storey belfry similarly decorated with a mosaic of bricks and tiles. The belfry stands in a courtyard with a blind arcade to the west and an open verandah to the south. Various graves are marked by carved stone slabs set level with the paving of the courtyard. Amongst them is the grave of Claudius James Rich, once British Political Agent in Baghdad, who died of cholera in Shiraz in the early nineteenth century.

The interior of the cathedral is lavishly decorated with wall paintings, oil paintings, carved and painted gilt stucco, tile friezes, and carpets (Plates 4–12).

The stucco is of two kinds: it is either moulded and carved in relief, and gilded to stand out against a blue ground; or the plaster ground is covered entirely with gold leaf and painted with floral designs in polychrome.[2] Round the five sides of the chancel is an Armenian inscription, in carved stucco, dated 1661 (Plate 10). Other stucco inscriptions, often associated with particular wall paintings, are below the window sills and to the right and left of the north and south sides of the east arm; on the south side of the west arm; below the window, to the left and right, and on the lower part of the four upper paintings on the west wall; as well as on the two dividing piers between the east and west arms.

A frieze of *cuerda seca* tiles, designed to contrast with the painted and stucco decoration, occupies the lower part of the north, south, and west walls. The frieze is divided into panels with wide borders. The chancel front is also tiled. The sides of the chancel are decorated

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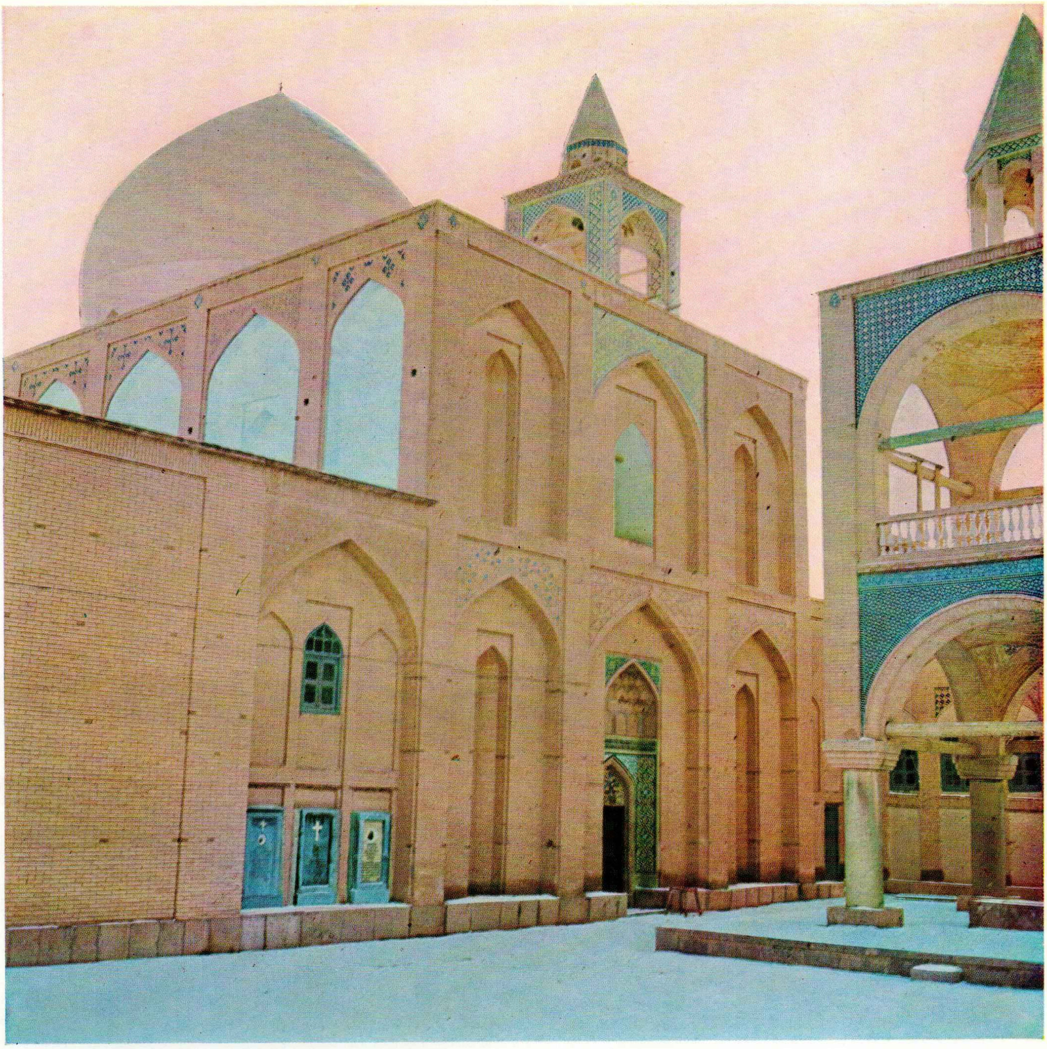
[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 219; Figueroa, op. cit., p. 285. Dr. Minasian says that the earlier church was built in 1606 and rebuilt between 1655–64. Translations of the numerous inscriptions in the cathedral might serve to clarify these dates. The cathedral is also known as the Church of St. Joseph of Arimathea. Oskan listed it as 'Surb-Amenaphreic, id est, omnium redemptor, et est Monasterium S. Basillii'; see p. 19.

[2] See p. 28, 'Stucco Decoration'.



V. ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL exterior from the NW.

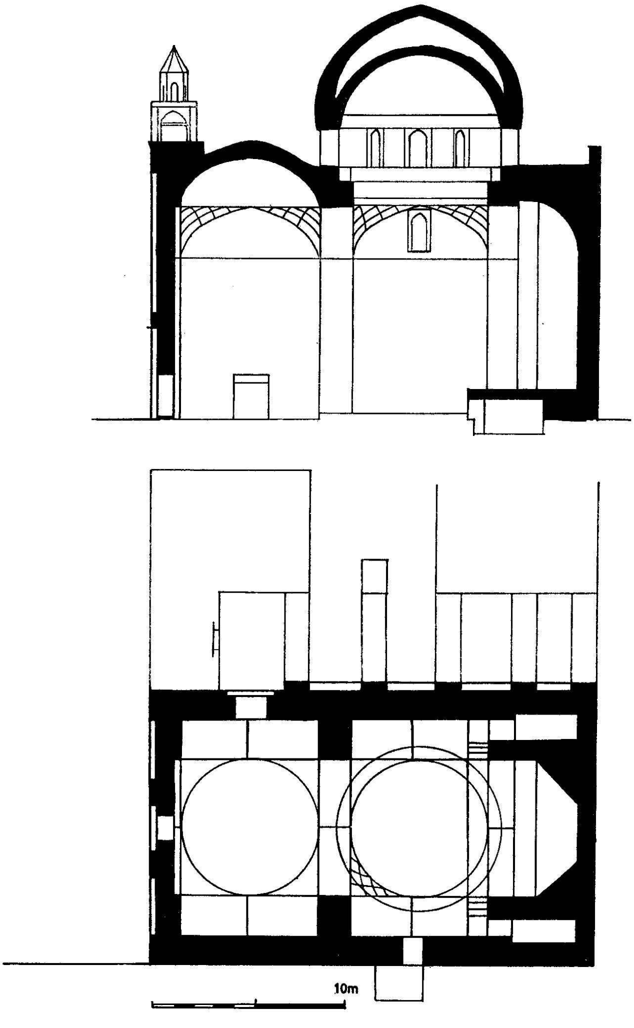


Fig. 10. All Saviour's Cathedral

with a tile frieze of angels and garlands; the panel on the north side bears an Armenian inscription (Plate 12*c*), dated 1715/16:

ՍՐԲՈՅ ՍԵՂԱՆՈՅՍ ՇՐՋԱՊԱՏ ԱՊԱԿԵՆՍ ՇԻՆԵՑԱՒ ԱՌԱՋՆՈՐԴՈՒԹԵԱՆ
ՄՈՎՍԷՍ Վ(Ա)ՐԴ(Ա)Պ(Ե)ՏԻ ՋՈՒՂԱ(Յ)ԵՑՈՒ Ի Թ(ՎԻ)Ն ՌՃԿԵ

'This glass-work (lit. *vitreum*) surrounding this holy altar was made during the primacy (office of *arajnord*) of Movsēs Vardapet of Jugha in the year 1165 (inc. 24 Sept. A.D. 1715).'

The tiles on the inner jambs of the north door are also inscribed (Plate 12*a*, *b*), and dated 1709/10:

Յ(Ի)Շ(Ա)Տ(Ա)Կ Է ԽԼԴՐԷՆՑ ՍՈԽՐՏԻՆ ԵՒ ԾՆ(Ո)Ղ(Ա)ՑՆ Խ(Ո)Ջ(Ա)Յ ՈՀԱՆԻՆ
ՄԷՐՏ Տ(Ի)ԿԻՆ ԵՒ Կ(Ո)Ղ(Ա)Կ(Ի)Ց ՄԱՐԱՄՏԱ (?) ՏԻԿԻՆ ԵՒ ՈՐԴԻ||ՈՑՆ ՄԱՐՏԻ-
ՐՈՍԻՆ ԵՒ ՈՀԱՆԻՆ ԵՒ ԴՍՏԵՐԱՑՆ ՓԱՐԱՍԻՆ ՄՈՒՐԱՍԷ ԳՈՒԼՆԱԲԱԹ—

—ԻՆ ԹԱՄԱՐԻՆ ԵՒ ԲԻՐԱՍԻՆ Է։ Դ(Ա)ՐՁ(ԵԱ)Լ Յ(Ի)Շ(Ա)Տ(Ա)Կ Է Պ(Ա)Ր(Ո)Ն
ՄՈՒՐԱՏԻՆ ԵՒ ԵՂԲՕՐՆ Պ(Ա)Ր(Ո)Ն ՅԱԿՈԲԻՆ ԵՒ ՄԱՐԳԱՐԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՈՀԱՆԷՍԻՆ
ԵՒ ՀԱՆԳ(Ո)ՒՑ(ԵԱ)Լ ԵՂԲԱՐՑՆ ՄԱՐԳԱՐԻՆ ԾԱՏ(Ո)ՒՐԻՆ ԱՒԱԳԻՆ

ԱՄԻՆ ԹՎ(Ի)Ն
ՌՃԾ||Թ

'In memory of Kh(a)ld(a)rentz S(o)khr(a)t and his parents Khodja Ohan (and) Madame Mērt and his wife Madame Mar(h)am(a)t (?) and his sons Martiros and Ohan and his daughters P'arasin, Murasē, Gulnabat' . . .'

'. . . T'amar and Birasi (?). Again, in memory of Mister Murat and his brother Mister Yakob, Ohanēs son of Margar, and his deceased brothers Margar, Tsatur (= Astuatsatur) (and) Awak.'

'In the year
1159' (inc. 25 Sept. A.D. 1709 O.S.).[3]

Outside, above the west door, is a panel of tiles depicting *The Annunciation* (Plate 13). The tiles are mixed up at the centre; they are also inscribed, and dated A.D. 1717. The doorway is framed with an elaborate mosaic design of small bricks and tiles.

The altar consists of a massive slab of black stone, supported by a pedestal of similar material, now concealed by the wooden frame of the altar covering. The tiered altar frontal was once decorated in blue and gold stucco, then later covered with crude paintings on cloth of various Saints, and now hidden by repoussé silver panels with floral designs and a repeated motif of a cross surmounted by a crown.

The Bishop's throne is a domed wooden structure surmounted by a lantern and a conical roof, standing in the church at the south-east angle of the north central pier. An Armenian inscription in marquetry on its west side is dated 1887, though the structure itself may be earlier (Plate 4).[4]

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[3] Professor Dowsett kindly translated this and the preceding text. He adds the following note: The surname *Khaldarentz* may be explained by the Persian *Khāldār* 'possessing a mole'; on this leading New Julfa family, including Sohrat, see Yovhaniantz, op. cit. i. 138–9, 142. The names *Murasē* and *Gulnabat'* are listed and explained in H. Acharian's Hayotz Andznanunneri Bararan [*Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*] Erevan, 1942–62. *Maramta* may stand for *Maramat* = Ar. Pers. Tk. *marḥamat* 'mercy', or for *Maram(a)ta(y)*, dative of the same. *P'arasin* is obscure. *Mērt* is probably Tk. *meret* 'a sweet drink'; see Acharian, *sub Mered.*

[4] The seventeenth-century traveller John Fryer (op. cit., p. 270) appears to locate the Bishop's chair in the chancel: 'the first [part of the building] whereof is almost all taken up by the High Altar, Garnished with the Images of the Blessed Mother and the Holy Child Jesus, unless a small ascent left for the Singers, the Bishop's Chair, and for Persons of Quality among them . . .'. On the other hand, the Bishop's throne in the Armenian Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem, which was also installed in the mid seventeenth century, is in exactly the same relationship to the altar as the present throne in Julfa, that is, on the north side of the nave, facing the chancel. See Appendix, p. 85.

The wall paintings in the cathedral are the most elaborate series in any of the churches, except those in the Bethlehem Church. They are arranged in horizontal bands, interspersed with stucco and painted decoration, on the walls and round the gallery inside the drum beneath the dome. Generally, the upper row and the spandrels on either side of the windows contain Old Testament subjects, which are typed to New Testament subjects immediately below them. Lower down is a wide band of gilt stucco painted with floral motifs inset with oval paintings of various parables of the sacraments, and a band of paintings with further scenes from the life of Christ, and the life and martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Plate III).[5]

Dr. Boase lists the subjects as follows:

'In the drum of the dome above the east crossing are scenes of the *Creation and Fall* to the *Death of Abel* [Plate 9]: the narrative is then continued in the south arm of the eastern cross. In the spandrels are the *Tower of Babel* and the *Dispersion of the Peoples*. The scenes from Old and New Testaments are as follows:

Abraham entertains the Angels
The Annunciation [Plate 8]

Joseph interprets the moon and stars
The Angel appears to the Shepherds [Plate 8]

Hagar and Ishmael
The Nativity [Plate 11]

Abraham and Melchizidek
The Adoration of the Magi [Plate 11]

The Persecution of the Israelites by the Egyptians
The Massacre of the Innocents

Israelites bring offerings to Moses
The Presentation

Coronation of Saul
Christ among the Doctors [Plate 9]

The Ark carried across the Jordan
The Baptism

spandrels of south wall of western cross: *Tree of Jesse: Covenant with Abraham*

Balaam's Ass
The Temptation [Plate III]

Angels guide Lot from Sodom
Angels minister to Christ

Moses shows the Tables of the Law
The Transfiguration

The Ark brought into Jerusalem
Entry of Christ into Jerusalem

The Calf of God
The Purging of the Temple

spandrels of west wall: *Stoning of Stephen: Ship of the Church* [Plate 6]

Elisha heals the water at Jericho
The Washing of the Feet

The Passover
The Last Supper

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[5] For a discussion of the date and origins of the paintings, see pp. 21–6 above.

Shimei curses David
The Betrayal

Judgement of Solomon
Christ before Caiaphas

Daniel before Nebuchadnezzar
Scourging of Christ

The north wall of the western arm is entirely covered by a painting of *The Last Judgement* [Plate 7]: the typological scenes continue on its short eastern arm.

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife [Plate 8]
Ecce Homo and Carrying of the Cross

The Brazen Serpent
The Crucifixion

Joseph lowered into the Pit
The Descent from the Cross

spandrels of north wall of eastern arm: *The Flood: Noah leaving the Ark*

Jonah and the Whale
The Entombment

The Destruction of Pharoah's Host
The Resurrection

The Sacrifice of Isaac
The Ascension

Moses striking water from the Rock
Pentecost

The Burning Bush
The Assumption

The small ovals contain in the eastern arm some parables (*The Mote and the Beam, The Blind falling into the Pit* [Plate 11], *The Good Samaritan*) and some scenes from the Gospels (*Mary annointing Christ's feet*, the *Noli Me Tangere* and *The Incredulity of St. Thomas*). The western arm has a series of the sacraments and twenty-one scenes of Armenian martyrdoms.[6] The western dome has four roundels with scenes from *The Apocalypse* [Plate 5] and in the soffits of the arches the stories of *Samson*, *Gideon* and *Joshua*. The High Altar has a painting of *The Transfiguration:* in the semi-dome above are *The Trinity* and *The Apostles*. On the wall to either side of the apse recess are *The Madonna and Child* and *The Cross surrounded by Angels* (north wall); *Jacob's Ladder* and the *Preaching of John the Baptist* (south wall) [Plate 10].'

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[6] *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator.*

ST. JAMES

MURADENTZ SURB HAKOB

Yovhaniantz gives no date for the construction of St. James, simply recording that it was built at the expense of the Muradian family. Writing in 1881, he lists the church as ruined;[1] it was later restored, in 1890. The earliest of the stone crosses is dated 1606. It is entered from the north-west angle of the courtyard of the later Church of the Holy Mother of God, by a door on the south side (Plate 2). The general floor level is approximately 0·5 m. lower than the level of the courtyard outside. There is a second, smaller door at the west end of the south wall.

The central part of the church consists of transverse arches, with a curved barrel-vault between them (Plate 14). The vault is pierced and supports a small lantern with an onion-shaped dome. To the east, another vault links the arch to the east wall of the church, with a similar opening and lantern above. To the west, two more transverse arches are linked by curved vaults, with a third lantern over one of them. On the north side of the church is a vaulted transept, opposite the south door. North of the raised chancel a small doorway leads to a narrow vestry with a barrel-vaulted roof.

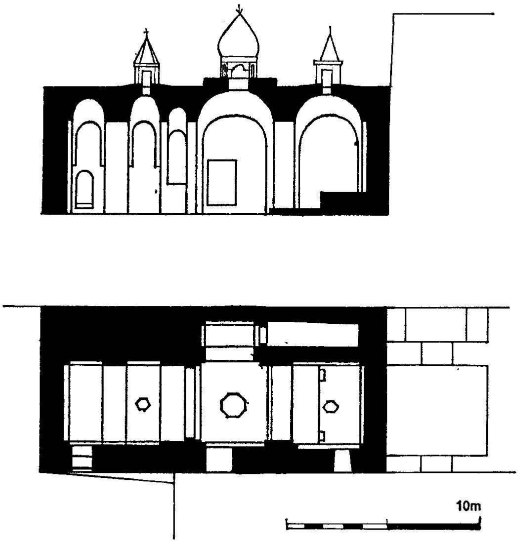

Fig. 11. St. James

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 160-2. According to Dr. Minasian, the Church of St. James was built in 1606/7 and is the oldest church in Julfa, referred to by the term *matuŕ*, 'chapel' rather than *ekeghetzi*, 'church'.

A number of carved stone crosses are set in the walls of the church, and many of them are inscribed (Plates 14–17). There are thirty-five crosses inside the church, the earliest of which is dated 1606. One inscription refers to the founding of the Church in 1606, and its restoration in 1890 (Plate 14). Several carved stone slabs are set horizontally in the courtyard in front of the south door. The door itself is decorated with a pattern of wooden stars and crosses, and ornamental metal bosses. Outside, above the door, are two more stone crosses and an inscription.

The altar consists of a stone slab set on a tapering stone pedestal, now hidden by a wooden framework. A window in the south wall throws additional light on the altar. The front of the altar is faced with a silver cover in three tiers, decorated with repoussé and engraved crosses, medallions, and floral designs.

There is an oil painting, *The Baptism of Christ*, in the north transept (Plate 15). It is painted on a bolted wooden panel, 150 by 120 cms., and is a representative example of the Julfa school, (?) middle of the seventeenth century. Possibly it once hung above the altar; it is certainly more worthy than the painting at present hanging there dated 1891, a souvenir of the restoration of the church.

ST. GEORGE

SURB GEORG

The Church of St. George was built by the Khodja Nazar in 1060 (A.D. 1610/11).[1] The nave consists of three arms, linked by pointed arches, each supporting a dome on pendentives (Plate 18). The eastern dome is raised slightly higher than the other two and pierced by an octagonal opening; it supports a lantern surmounted by a pear-shaped dome. The two other domes are covered with smaller lanterns. Externally the domes and the roof are faced with stone. There is a belfry on the roof to the north-west.

The raised chancel and altar are surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse, with a half-dome above. Below the chancel, steps lead down to a chamber beneath the altar roofed with double barrel-vaults, one on either side of a central pier. To the north and south of the chancel are vestries, entered from the nave.

Before the main west door of the church is a later porch, flanked by smaller rooms, with access from outside. A second door, at the north-east angle of the central arm of the nave, leads into a covered court roofed with shallow domes on pendentives supported by pointed arches, containing a collection of stone architectural fragments.

Further north is an annexe (Plate 22), consisting of a central domed area flanked by pairs of smaller rooms, all once open to the courtyard on the west. The central room has been walled off and is now used as a chapel, entered by a door from the south. The northern part of the annexe has been concealed by additional structures built against it; only part of the original façade can now be traced, projecting above the roof. The façade of the annexe is divided into five arches, the spandrels of which are decorated with tile mosaic, now in a bad state of repair.

The thrust of the eastern dome combined with that of the apse must have been underestimated, as massive buttresses have been built against the outer south wall to reinforce it. The plan shows that the north wall has also been strengthened.

There are many inscribed stones in the courtyard, mainly on the north and west sides of the church.

The interior of the church is very handsome, with the tracery of the groined pendentives carefully outlined with narrow bands of paint. The altar consists of three massive stone capitals, supporting a horizontal slab. These capitals are inscribed in Armenian on all four sides, and dated 1610/11 (Plate 21). The front of the altar is usually hidden by a wooden framework, with a modern engraved silver cover.

In the chamber below the altar are a number of small inscribed marble crosses. The chancel front is decorated with *cuerda seca* tiles, which have been specially made for it (Plate 20). They are painted with floral designs in white, yellow, yellow-green, turquoise, dark cobalt blue, light grey-blue, and purple, with dark brown outlines. The shaped tiles which form an arch above the central opening in the chancel front are decorated with two angels' heads and a bird.

The main west door of the church is framed with a mosaic of bricks and yellow, turquoise, dark cobalt blue, white, yellow-green, and purplish black monochrome tiles. Above the door is a panel of eleven *cuerda seca* tiles, depicting *The Annunciation* (Plate 19). The lower row of tiles carry an Armenian inscription, dated 1716/17:

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՀԱՆԳՈՒՑԵԱԼՍ ԱՂ· ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԻ ԱՂԱՄԻՐԻՆ ԵՒ ԶԱՒԱԿԱԹՈՒԻՆ
ԵՒ ԳՈՒՄԱՐԱԿԱԹԻՆ ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃԿԵ։

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 179–80. Khodja Nazar was *Kalantar* of Julfa; see pp. 6, 9, 77.

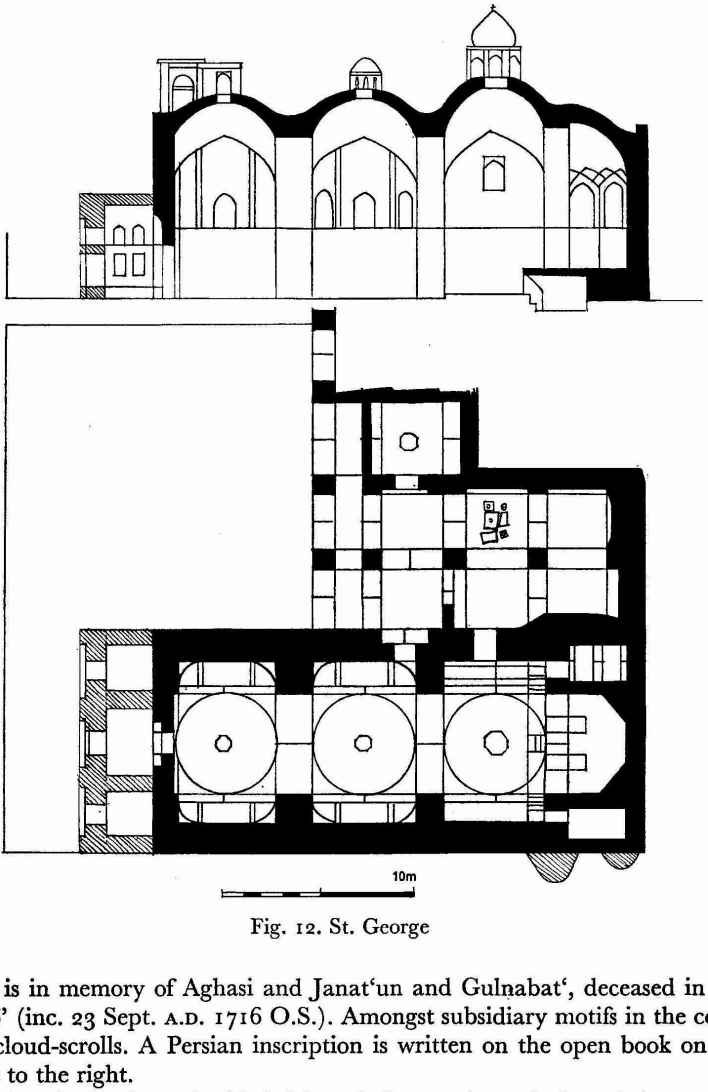

Fig. 12. St. George

‘This picture is in memory of Aghasi and Janat‘un and Gulṇabat‘, deceased in Christ. In the year 1166’ (inc. 23 Sept. A.D. 1716 O.S.). Amongst subsidiary motifs in the composition are Chinese cloud-scrolls. A Persian inscription is written on the open book on the cloth-covered table to the right.

The north door is also framed with brick and tile mosaic, and above it is a second *cuerda seca* tile panel, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Plate 20). It consists of twenty-eight tiles, inscribed in Armenian, and dated 1619; it is thus the earliest dated group of pictorial tiles of this type. The colours used in the composition are yellow, yellow-green, pale turquoise, light and dark cobalt, khaki, light and dark purple, with a wash of pale rose on the features of some of the figures.

There are no paintings on the walls, but above the altar is an impressive oil painting of *The Assumption*, of possibly Italian or Spanish origin. The shape of the picture, which echoes the arch behind it, suggests it may have been commissioned with its present setting in mind.

The collection of stone architectural fragments in the courtyard north of the church (Plate 21) includes an altar-slab recessed to accommodate the boss of a supporting pier, which lies beside it, and several carved capitals. These stones and the three capitals beneath the altar are maintained by some of the faithful to have been miraculously transported from Armenia to Persia. In fact, as noted above (p. 7) they were brought from the cathedral at

Etchmiadzin to Julfa in 1614 by Shah Abbas I, in order to appease the Armenians for the loss of their holy places. Arak'el gives details of their removal to Julfa,

> 'Thahmaz-Qouli-Khan vint donc au Saint Edchmiadzin avec force soldats. On déterra et on tira de leur place les pierres principales suivants: la sainte table, sur laquelle se célèbre la S. Sacrifice; le pilier de la Ste. table, la pierre de la descente du Christ, le bassin

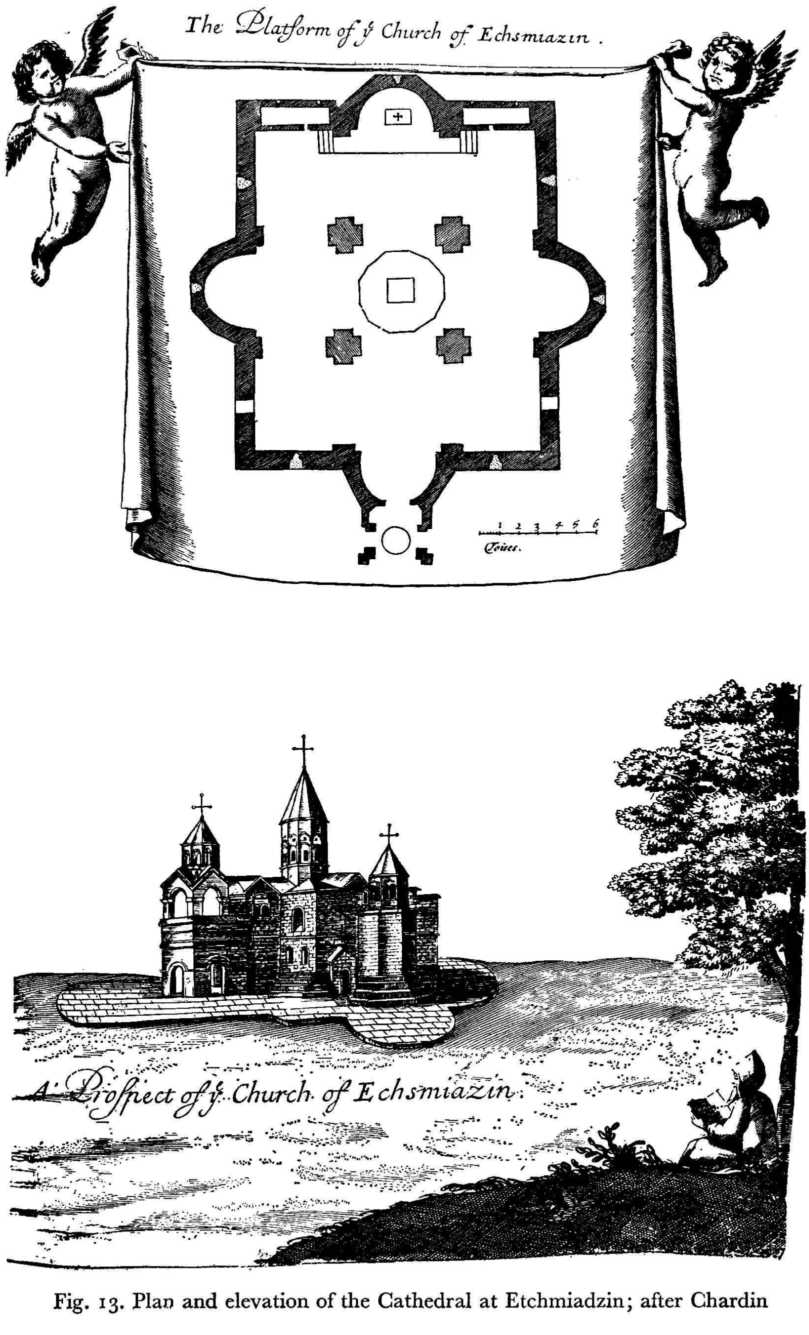
The Platform of ye Church of Echsmiazin.
1 2 3 4 5 6
Toises.
A Prospect of ye Church of Echsmiazin.

Fig. 13. Plan and elevation of the Cathedral at Etchmiadzin; after Chardin

> baptismal, une pierre du degré méridional de l'autel, une du degré septentrional; car l'autel principal a deux côtés, ceux du S. et N.; quatre pierres, des quatres angles de l'église, du côté des portes, qui sont orientées; deux pierres en flambeaux, où l'on met des cierges, qui brûlent dans les godets; trois autres pierres, du *comble* [stone slab] de l'autel: en tout, quinze pierres, qui furent descellées d'Edchmiadzin et enveloppées de peaux cousues . . . ayant préparé par la masse de celles-ci un chariot convenable, on les mena à Ispahan, mais on n'entra pas dans la ville'.[2]

They were installed in a domed building in the village of Bathoun outside Isfahan, all the Armenians coming to see them, and honour them with incense and candles. Here they remained until the Moslem inhabitants complained that the villagers were dying and the crops failing. The Shah ordered them to be transferred to Julfa, where they were put in the church of Khodjentz (i.e. St. George) in 1614.

Several of the fragments described by Arak'el can be identified in the photographs (Plate 21). Chardin's plan of the cathedral at Etchmiadzin (Figure 13) indicates from which parts of the church they must have been removed.

The church of St. George is a centre for pilgrimage, and on the Saint's day, pilgrims, including non-Christians, come from all over Persia to spend the festival in the courtyard.

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[2] Arak'el, op. cit., pp. 364–72.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

SURB ASTUATSATSIN

THE Church of the Holy Mother of God was built by Khodja Awetik' in 1062 (A.D. 1612/13),[1] near the Great Maidan (Plate 2).

This oddly planned church has as a central feature four piers, buttressed externally to the north and south and linked by four recessed arches supporting on groined pendentives a drum pierced by four windows, which in turn bears a pointed dome (Plate 24).[2] To the west, the church is divided into two floors, with a staircase in the south wall leading to a gallery. The ground floor, rectangular in plan and roofed by a dome on pendentives, supports the floor of the gallery above, which is covered by a dome. At the west end of the church the door (Plate 22) leads out on to a paved dais, which is roofed with a wooden canopy supported by an arcade of stone columns encompassing the church to the north, west, and south (Plate 23). Two steps lead down to the level of the courtyard, of which the Church of St. James occupies the north-west corner.

East of the central area in front of the chancel the level of the nave is raised by a step. The north and south arms are vaulted and the area between them is domed, to about half the height of the main dome. The raised chancel is surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse which is roofed with a dome rising high above the altar; this dome has a complex pattern of groining on the inside.

The north and south doors would appear to be later additions, as they break the continuity of the tile frieze which decorates the lower part of the church walls. The original shape of the now partially blocked windows above the doors can be deduced from the dimension of the windows immediately above them, and traces left on either side of the present doorways. The altar consists of a massive stone slab, with a square base inscribed in Armenian. It is covered with a wooden framework embellished with a silver altar frontal. Above it hangs an oil painting. There are some remains of stucco decoration in the apse, with an Armenian inscription. The stucco in the central area of the church is heavily restored, and has in part been replaced with painted patterns.

A fine tile frieze runs right round the church. At the top of it is a long horizontal inscription, in yellow Armenian characters on a dark cobalt ground. The designs of the various panels are full of fantasy, with birds and flowers, real and imaginary animals, ornamental vases and cypress trees all intermingled (Plate 26). The low frieze of tiles decorating the chancel front is probably the finest of its kind in Julfa, and is a minor masterpiece (Plate IV*a*). The step down, west of the chancel, is also tiled. Amongst the motifs on the panel immediately west of the north door is a kneeling figure, persumably a portrait of the donor. (Plate IV*c*). The poor quality tiles in the north and south arms of the chancel are later, dated 1841.

Of the four oil paintings on canvas which have been marouflaged on to the walls of the church, the most interesting is *The Beheading of St. John* (Plate 25), on the north wall. The donor, Gerak Agha, kneels at the bottom left of the picture. He is said to have ordered this painting in Venice, and presented it to the church. He holds a golden wreath, with a monogram in the centre painted on a red gloved hand. Opposite this painting, on the north wall

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 191; the walls were tiled between 1651 and 1666, and the paintings added in 1666. The church was first repaired by Gerak Agha, and again in 1841. Mr. S. Apcar (Pope, op. cit., p. 1350) dates the tiles 1661–9.

[2] Probably a double dome; see p. 20.

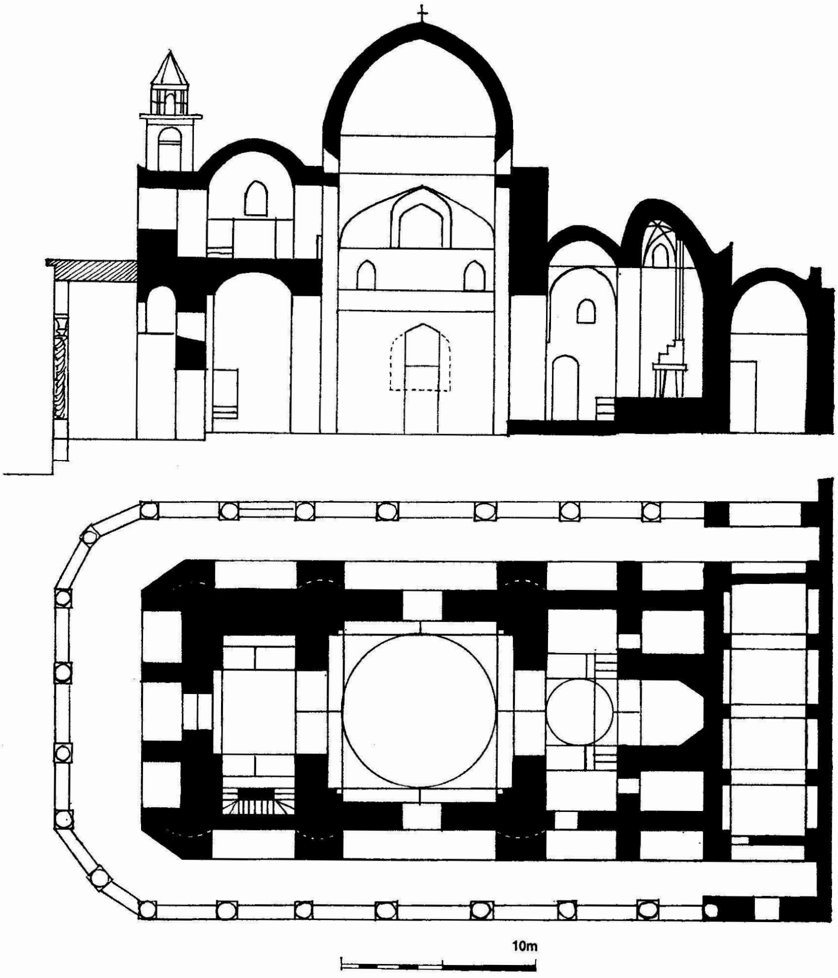

Fig. 14. The Church of the Holy Mother of God

of the church, is a painting depicting two bearded Saints kneeling before the Virgin and Child, with three children and a lady nearby modestly obscured by a tree, presumably Gerak Agha's wife and family. Between the two paintings, on the west face of the north-east and south-east central piers, are two more paintings, of skeletons. On the north pier the life-size skeleton is shown accompanied by a tortoise attacking a snake at its feet, and two mitres, a striped turban, and a bird, to the right (Plate 26). Above, in the top right corner, is a bird in flight, with a crown, and a monogram painted on a gloved hand in an oval on its breast. The second skeleton painting, on the south pier, includes a crown, a turban, a hat with twin pointed peaks, a bird, an owl grasping a chalice of flaming liquid, and another crowned bird with a glove and a monogram in the background.

There are wall paintings of varying quality on the east side of the central area, many of them inscribed (Plate 24). The north and south walls, now painted with decorative designs, are divided into panels suggesting that they were once covered with similar wall paintings. Above, there are paintings inside the drum supporting the dome, executed in a primitive style. Their unusual iconography would repay closer study (Plate 25).

ST. STEPHEN

SURB STEPANNOS

THE Church of St. Stephen was built in 1063 (A.D. 1613/14);[1] it was restored in 1848. The nave consists of three arms, with aisles to the north and south. The central arm, constructed with four piers linked by pointed arches, supports a drum on groined pendentives pierced by eight windows, surmounted by a dome (Plate 28). The arms to the east and west are linked by pointed arches and roofed with shallow domes on pendentives. The side aisles are covered with barrel vaults running east–west. The raised chancel is surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse with a half-dome above; on either side are vestries, entered by doors at the east end of the aisles.

At the west end of the church, an open wooden gallery has been constructed between the floor and the dome; access to this gallery and the roof is by an internal staircase in the south side of the west wall.

The church has doors on the north, south, and west sides. The west door leads into a courtyard, between heavy external buttresses linked by transverse arches (Plate 27). The north door leads into an open vaulted arcade along the north side of the church, roofed with a series of shallow domes on pendentives (Plate 34). At the north-east angle of the church, the arcade leads to a covered porch, with a gate giving access to the street (Plate 27). On the south side of the church, a door leads into an enclosed courtyard, also with access to the street through a covered passage. This courtyard is enclosed by outhouses; at the east end there is an annexe, similar to that north of St. George's Church. This structure has five arches, the central one being the largest and containing an altar on a raised chancel, with a semi-octagonal apse surmounted by a lantern. The annexe chapel is in a bad state of repair and is now used for storing bread (Plate 34).

The central dome of the main church is built of both brick and stone. The combined weight of the materials may explain why the internal arches of the church have been cross-tied with wooden poles, and the heavy external buttresses constructed at the west end. A belfry is situated on the roof to the south-west of the main dome.

The altar, inside the church, consists of a stone slab resting on a pedestal, with a wooden framework. The chancel is flanked by two stucco panels, both inscribed. It appears that the chancel was once decorated with a complete scheme of paintings, stucco, and tiles, of which now only traces remain (Plate 32). Those paintings still left on the walls are minor examples of Julfa school. The carved stone chancel front has not been enhanced by later coats of paint.

Outside, above the north and south doors are carved stucco panels. The panel above the north door, *The Annunciation*, has also suffered from later painting; it is dated 1642/3 (Plate 27), according to the stone inscription at the centre.

The eastern half of the church is ornamented with a frieze of *cuerda seca* tiles, similar to those in other Julfa churches. At the base of the north-west and south-west central piers are panels of underglaze-painted tiles; these are of poor quality, have a crackled, thick vitreous glaze, and are often discoloured and blurred in firing. The border tiles, painted in cobalt blue with grey-black outlines, are technically similar to a common type of seventeenth/eighteenth century Persian pottery. The types of tiles are as follows:

1. Square tiles, 18.5 cms. (Plate 29).
   Off-white ground, often tinged blue or green; painted in blue, with a freely-drawn repeating design, possibly a modification of a Turkish tile pattern. The central spray of leaves forms a cross.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 201.

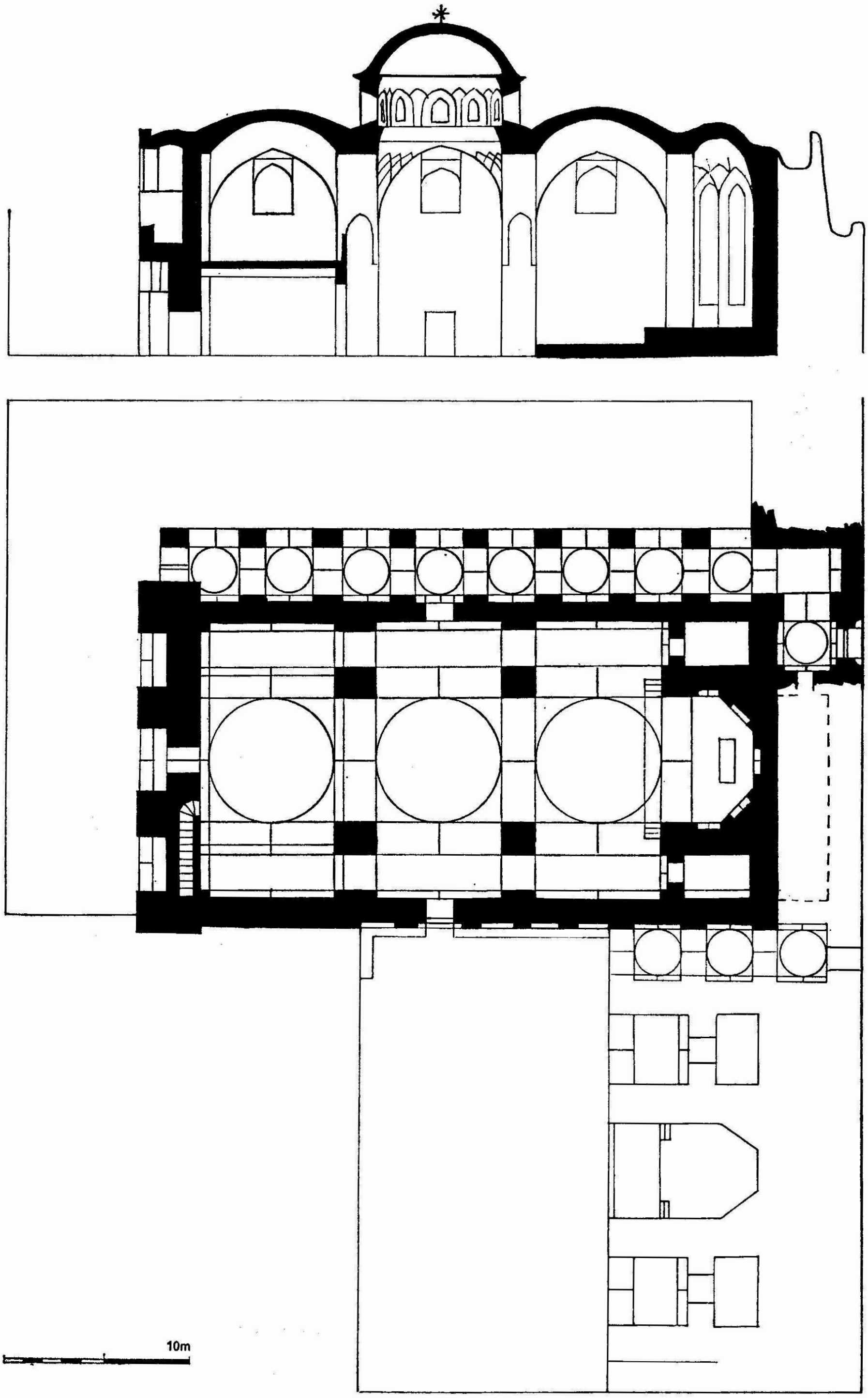

Fig. 15. St. Stephen

2. Border tiles, 18 by 8 cms.
   Off-white ground; painted in dark cobalt with grey-black outlines, with a repeating design of medallions and leaves.
3. Border tiles, 19 by 7 cms.
   Painted with a running pattern of leaves and flowers reserved on a cobalt blue ground, outlined in dark grey.

The wall paintings are not very skilled. On the west face of the north-east pier is a painting of *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, with *The Deposition* (Plate 29) above it. The paintings on the south wall of *Christ among the Doctors* and *The Temptation* are simplified versions of the same subjects in All Saviour's Cathedral (Plate 30). A large painting of *St. Stephen* hangs above the main altar (? Italian school), framed with paintings of various Saints added to the main composition, with Armenian inscriptions (Plate 29). The paintings are flanked by almost identical paintings of the *The Madonna and Child.*[2] An oil painting hanging on the west face of the south-east pier depicts two Kings (? ? Trdat and Vramshapuh) kneeling before two Prelates (? ? St. Gregory and St. Sạhạk) surrounded by soldiers (Plate 31). Between the two Kings is an undated Armenian inscription:

Յ(Ի)Շ(Ա)Տ(Ա)Կ Է ՅԱՐՈՒ	'In memory of Yaru-
ԹԻՆԻՆ ԵՒ ԲԱՐ	t'in and Bar-
ԵՔԱԶԻՆ ԵՒ ԴՈՒՍՏ(Ե)Ր	ek'azn and (their) daughter
ԱԶԱՏԼՈՒ Է ԵՒ	Azatlu and
ՀՕՐՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԷ	his father Eremiē.'[3]

Three horizontal oil paintings hang above the south door. Each is divided into five scenes from the life of Christ. They are local products, apparently inspired by Flemish prototypes, and more impressive at a distance than in detail (Plate 33).

On the north wall hangs a painted panel, in slight relief, of *The Entombment*; it carries a Georgian inscription (Plate 30).

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[2] The practice of hanging identical paintings on either side of the altar also occurs in the Churches of St. John the Baptist, St. Nerses, and St. Gregory the Illuminator. The writer has noticed this dualism of paintings in the decoration of private houses.

[3] The personal name *Azatlu*, from Tk. *azatlı* 'freed', is not listed in Acharian, op. cit.—C. Dowsett.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

SURB HOVHANNES MEKERTITCH

THE Church of St. John the Baptist was built in 1620/21.[1] The plan is based on a central cross; four piers are linked by four pointed arches, and squinches at the angles of the square tower above support a dome (Plate 43). The arms of the cross and the four corner bays of the church are roofed with curved barrel-vaults.

The raised chancel is roofed with two transverse pointed arches linked by a curving barrel-vault, with a semi-octagonal apse to the east and a half-dome above. To the north and south of the chancel are vestries, each with a similar apse at the east end. The main door, at the west end of the church, is beneath an external belfry; this belfry, with its decoration of *cuerda seca* tiles, is a recent addition (Plate 42). Doors on the south side of the church lead to small rooms.

On the north side a door leads from the church into a covered forecourt with a chapel at the east end. This chapel and the forecourt are simply roofed with wooden cross-beams, concealed under a flat coating of plaster and an ornamental wooden ceiling, except to the east where the raised chancel and semi-octagonal apse are roofed with two pointed arches linked by a barrel-vault, and a half-dome to the east (Plate 44). A circular lantern with a conical roof allows additional light to penetrate the interior. The chapel is now used as a storehouse. For once, the altar conceals no stone slab and pedestal, but is an integral part of the chancel itself. Crosses engraved in the plaster on either side of the chancel are dated 1774. The paintings on the altar are crude local work.

In the church, the altar consists of the usual stone slab on a pedestal, concealed by a wooden frame, covered with a repoussé silver altar-frontal in three tiers, inscribed in Armenian.

In the courtyard are a number of gravestones, some carved with reliefs depicting the trades or occupations of the deceased person. One illustrated (Plate 44*b*) is dated 1184/A.D. 1734.

The interior of the church is furnished in the modern style, and it is difficult to guess what the original scheme of decoration may have been. There are no remains of wall paintings, or stucco (except in the chancel, which may be later). Several carved stone crosses on the east wall and the chancel have not been enhanced by a recent coat of gold paint.

Above the west door are two interesting carvings, dated 114 Era of Azaria/A.D. 1729, and 1184/A.D. 1735. A painting over the main altar, *St. John the Baptist*, is an undistinguished example of the Julfa school. It is flanked by identical pictures of the Virgin Mary.

According to Mr. L. Minasian, this church possesses a very good 'printed' altar curtain, 'with white pictures on a black background', for use at Easter. It was not seen by the writer, but from the description it would appear to be an Indian *pintado*.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 204.

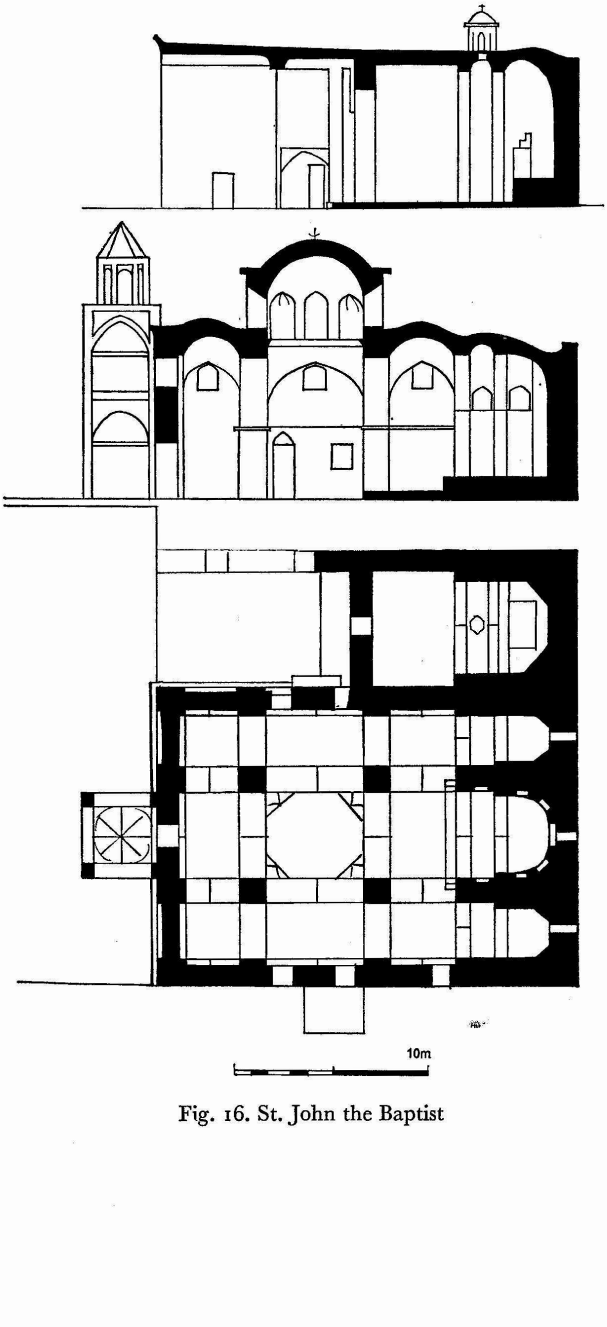

Fig. 16. St. John the Baptist

ST. CATHERINE

SURB KATARINE

THE Church of St. Catherine was built by Khodja Eliazar in 1072 (A.D. 1622/3).[1]

The church is in a small courtyard, with the nunnery on the north side. The nave is divided into two rectangular bays, with pointed arches supporting curved vaults on pendentives (Plate 36). The raised chancel is roofed by two transverse arches, with a linking vault between them; to the east is a semi-octagonal apse with a half-dome above. There are narrow vestries to the north and south of the chancel.

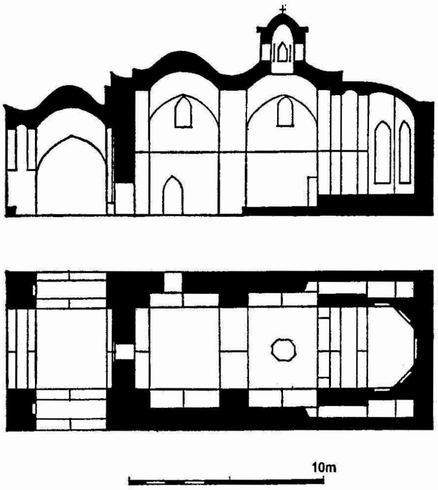

Fig. 17. St. Catherine

The eastern of the two nave vaults is pierced by an octagonal opening, surmounted by a lantern with eight windows and a stone dome. Doors on the north and west sides of the church lead into the attractive courtyard. The west door is protected by an open vaulted porch, whose piers are linked by a heavy pole from which hangs a *simandrum*, or wooden bell (Plate 35).[2]

Inside, the two chancel arches are decorated with gilt stucco on a blue ground. Between them are painted two standing saints. Below the saints, on the north wall is a painting of *Joseph and Mary and two angels before the Infant Christ.* On the south side is a painting of *The Presentation of Christ at the Temple* (Plate 38). All four are paintings of the Julfa school. In the half-dome above the apse is a picture, *Christ in Glory with the Evangelists, Saints and Angels,* which is a striking example of the local school, as is the oil painting above the altar of *Christ carrying the Cross.* In the latter picture, Christ is treading grapes and the blood from his wounds flows into the wine-vat (Plate 37).

The doors of a small cupboard in the north wall are decorated with a painting of *The Baptism of Christ,* and there are various other unremarkable paintings hanging in the church.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 223.

[2] Daulier Deslandes refers to the use of the *simandrum* to call the faithful to prayer, in the seventeenth century, in Julfa. See Appendix, p. 84.

THE NUNNERY

According to Yovhaniantz, the nunnery was built in A.D. 1623, by Aghazar, son of Khodja Manuk. It is thus contemporary with the Church of St. Catherine.[1]

The building is two storeys high, and contains eight cells, each differently planned. The decoration, apart from one painted cell, is confined to carved and incised plaster panels, stone fireplace hoods, and simple mouldings on the recessed cupboards and doors.

The painted cell is on the ground floor and till recently it was in use as a charcoal store. It is entered through fretted double doors from the courtyard. On either side of the doorway are small windows with tiled sills. The cell has a shallow vaulted ceiling and cupboards built into the west wall and below the window sills. A small opening in the east wall leads to a little kitchen and store.

The north wall of the cell is entirely covered with two paintings, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Resurrection* (Plate 39). Round the cell at eye-level is a painted and gilt frieze of flower panels. Above the cupboard on the west wall is a small panel of flowers with an Armenian Saint.

Several European travellers to Isfahan in the seventeenth century refer to nunneries in Julfa. Tavernier mentions two, and Fryer a nunnery dedicated to St. Hripsimē, with forty impoverished incumbents. In Chardin's time a nunnery in Julfa was dissolved, because of the immoral behaviour of the nuns; he also mentions that the Carmelites told him that they had been responsible for drawing up its plans some sixty years previously.[2]

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. i. 94.

[2] See Appendix, p. 85.

THE BETHLEHEM CHURCH

MEYDANI BETGHAHEM

The Bethlehem Church was built by Khodja Petros Velidjanian in 1077 (A.D. 1627/8).[1] It is close to the Great Maidan, or market place, in Julfa.

The central feature of the church is a square of four recessed pointed arches, linked by intersecting groined pendentives which support the dome. The dome itself is hollow, built of two separate parts; a wood and brick frame links the inner to the outer, onion-shaped, dome (Plate 49).

The raised chancel is roofed with cross-vaults, with a semi-octagonal apse and a half-dome to the east (Plate 45). Small vestries open off the nave at the foot of the chancel steps. At the west end of the Church are vaulted recesses to north and south, and above, a gallery covered with a shallow dome. Buttresses on the outside of the church are linked externally with transverse vaults. The main door is in the west wall. A door in the south wall leading into a covered passage is a later feature, as it cuts through both the tile frieze and the painted decoration.[2]

The main altar has a stone core, with some architectural fragments beneath it.

The decoration of the interior of the church, which is quite complete, is an eclectic mixture of gilt stucco, painted plaster, wall paintings, and *cuerda seca* tiles (Plates I, II, 46–49). The plaster is in fair condition, with a tendency to flake; there are many Armenian inscriptions. The dome is very finely decorated with gilt stucco, and paintings. The paintings vary in quality, and are apparently local productions. They have some iconographic interest, but aesthetically they do not rate very highly. Lacking in tonal adjustment, with obvious and repetitive discords of red and green, they are cumbersome and disturbing beside the stucco ornament. The lower band of paintings contains some interesting details of textiles, costumes, and headgear of the mid seventeenth century.

The paintings round the chancel walls are in a much more primitive style (Plate 47). They suggest the hand of a manuscript illuminator rather than someone skilled in wall-painting, being essentially two-dimensional in concept. The subjects are mostly standing figures of Saints.

An oil painting of the church's donor, Khodja Petros Velidjanian, occupies a place of honour on the north wall (Plate 46). The west wall of the church beneath the gallery is filled with a series of paintings of *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, *St. Sargis*, *St. Mercurius*, and *St. Theodore* (Plates 47, 49). There is a vivid and imaginative rendering of Hell just inside the west door (Plate 48).

Apart from the interior of the dome, the frieze of *cuerda seca* tiles is the most effective decoration in the church. These panels are excellent specimens of Julfa tiles, with fantastic designs of flowers and animals (Plate 48). Outside, above the west door, is an attractive tiled panel dated 1899.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii, 173. Tavernier, iv. 159, mentions that the Great Maidan also benefitted from his generosity (see Appendix, p. 78).

[2] For a more detailed plan of this church, see Pope, op. cit., Fig. 423.

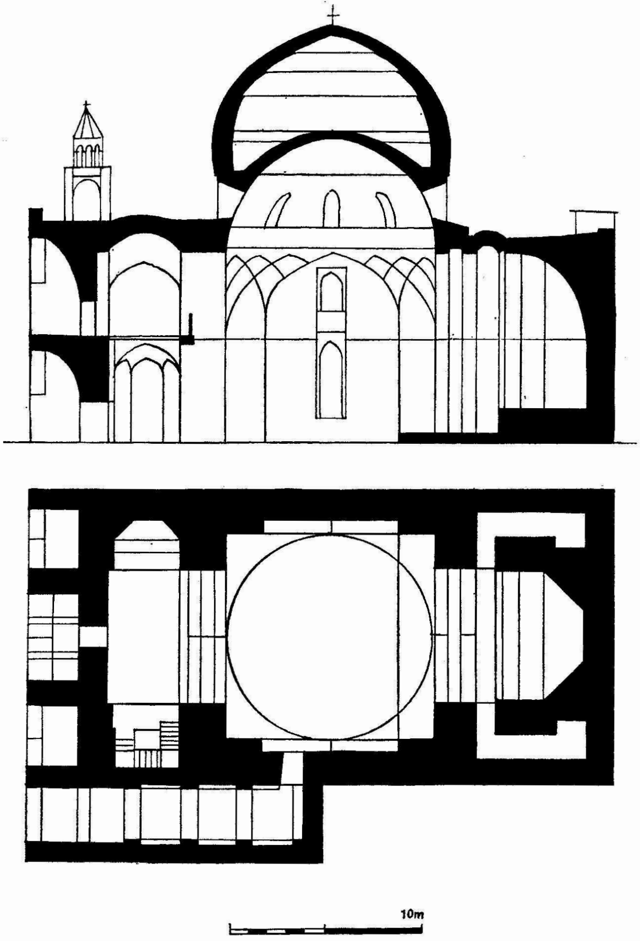

Fig. 18. The Bethlehem Church

ST. SARGIS

SURB SARGIS or OHANA VANQ

THIS church is listed by Yovhaniantz as ruined,[1] and must have been restored after 1881. It is mentioned as 'St. Sargis in the Gheynun quarter', which was, he states, a common appellation in his day for the 'great quarter of Gharagel'.[2] He also states that this church is one of the most ancient in Julfa, as a church of that name is mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel dated 1058 (A.D. 1608/9), in the church of Erivan.

St. Sargis is on the north side of a courtyard reached from the street by a gate in the south-west corner. At the east end of the courtyard is an annexe to the church, with a façade of five arches; the largest, central arch houses a small chapel. On the south side of the courtyard is a verandah, the roof of which is supported by two wooden pillars.

The central feature of the church is a dome on a drum, supported on groined pendentives springing from pointed arches linking four piers (Plates 50). To the east and west, the nave is roofed with curved vaults supported on pendentives; the east vault is pierced and covered by an octagonal lantern with a conical roof. The side aisles are also covered with vaults on pendentives.

The raised chancel and altar are surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse, with a half-dome above. The altar has a roughly-cut stone slab and pedestal as a core. The chancel is flanked by vestries entered by doors at the east end of each aisle.

Above the altar is a painting, *The Madonna, surrounded by Angels and Saints*; it is inscribed in Armenian and dated 1725 (Plate 51). Of the Julfa school, it is conceivably by the same artist as the painting above the altar in St. Catherine's Church, which it resembles in style. The roof of the apse is painted with a picture of *Christ in Glory, with God the Father, the Evangelists, Saints and Angels.*

In the church, north of the chancel steps, are two wall paintings, of *Mary and Elizabeth* and *The Annunciation,* of the Julfa school. These paintings suggest once there were more wall paintings in the church.

In the eastern half of the church is a frieze of *cuerda seca* tiles of high quality; individual tiles are out of sequence, and are reputed to have come from other churches, now destroyed. Two fragments (Plate 53) of inscribed tiles on the north wall bear the Armenian words:

Yi [šatak ē . . . . . Ma]hdesī Ạ . . . 'In memory of . . . . . pilgrim A(?)'

Amongst the colours used to decorate the tiles, bright pink suggests that they are of nineteenth-century manufacture.

In the centre of the north wall are two panels of *cuerda seca* tiles, also mixed up, of extraordinary landscape scenes (Plates IV*b*, 54, 55). Amongst the trees, flowers, and pavilions are elephants ridden by monkeys, birds, leopards, and other animals; the tiles are not inscribed. They are 22 cms. square and painted in light blue-grey, yellow, cobalt blue, green, turquoise, brown, light and dark purple, with a white ground, the patterns outlined in greyish-brown. The outer tiles of the panel include a floral border.

Between the two panels is a panel of tiles, each 22.5 cms. square, decorated with spirals of leaves, with a rose at the centre (Plate 53*a*). These are painted in blue-grey, cobalt, and yellow on a white ground. Tiles on the north and south wall and behind the altar are decorated with floral and animal motifs on a yellow ground. Other panels include phoenixes, cloud-scrolls, and other Chinese motifs; the two panels flanking the chancel steps have as their central motifs vases whose shape and blue-and-white decoration with rocky landscapes, deer, and birds show them to have been inspired by Chinese prototypes (Plate 53*e*).

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 155.

[2] ibid., p. 170.

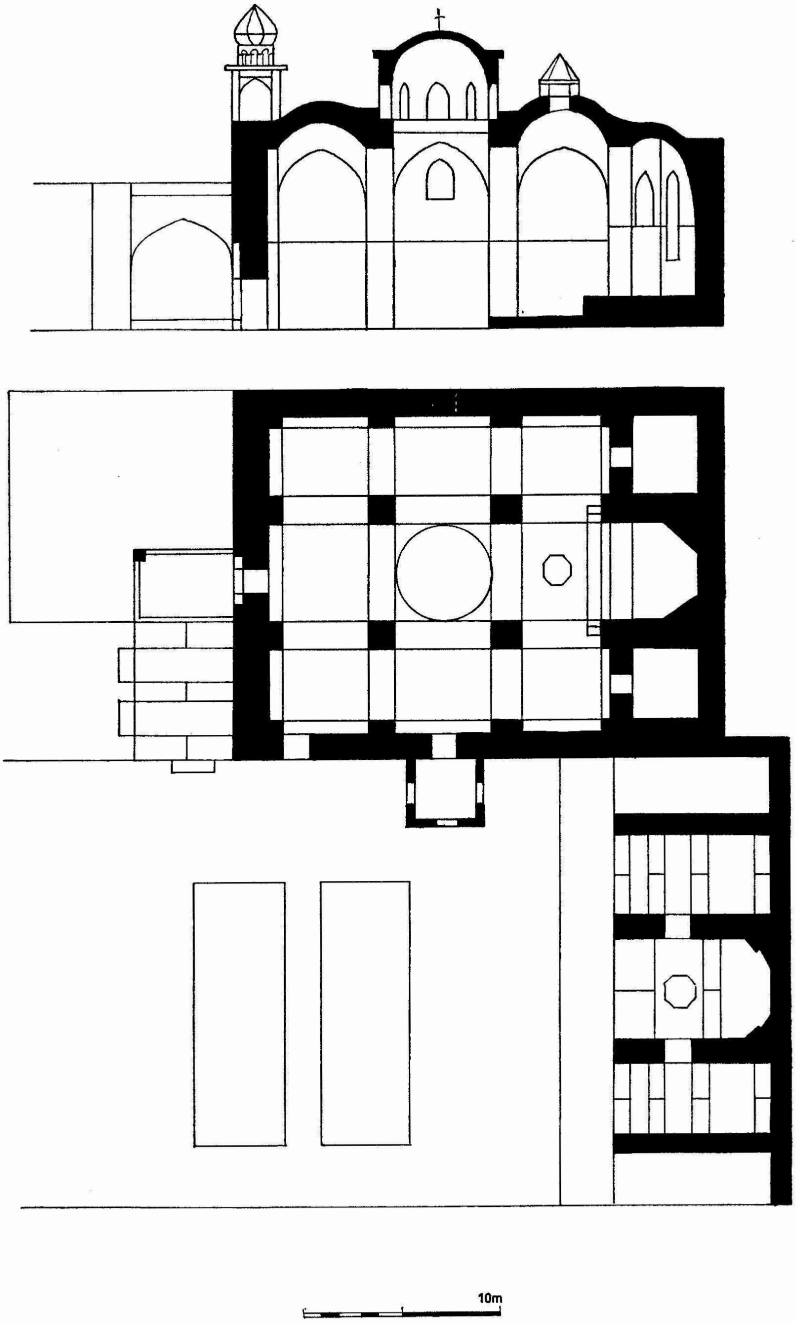

Fig. 19. St. Sargis

The four central piers are partially covered with underglaze-blue tiles, similar to those in St. Stephen's Church (*types* 1, 2, *and* 3).

A further type of *cuerda seca* border tile frames the panel of *type* 1 underglaze tiles on the east face of the south-west central pier. Measuring 22 by 11 cms., they are painted in yellow, white, green, turquoise, and purple, with a cobalt blue ground. Another type of *cuerda seca* border tile frames two panels of *type* 1 underglaze tiles just inside the south door of the church; they are 23 by 12 cms. and painted in yellow, white, green, turquoise, and purple, with a cobalt blue ground (Plate 53*b*, *c*).

Outside, above the south door is a tile panel of *The Annunciation* (Plate 52), composed of twenty-six tiles shaped to form an arch. They are painted in yellow, brown, cobalt blue, turquoise, green, white, and purplish-black, with a soft rose colour (unlike the vivid pink of the Qajar period) for the robes of the Virgin and the Angel. To the right of the Virgin is an inscribed, open book. At the base of the panel are two lines of Armenian, with the date, 1705,

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՄԱՐԳԱՐԻ ՈՐԴԻ ԽՈՋԱՅ ՈՒՍԷՓԻՆ ԿՈՂԱԿՑՈՒՆ ԲԻԲՈՒՆ ՈՐ Է ԵՓՐԱՆՍԱՆ ՄՈՒՐԱՏ ՀԱՄԻԼԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՍԵՓԱԹՈՒՆԻՆ ԵՒ ԿՈՂԱԿՑՈՒՆ ՍԱՐԱԼՈՒԻՆ ԵՒ ԱՒԱԳԻ ՈՐԴԻ ԲԱՂՏԱՍԱՐԻՆ ԵՒ ԱՍԱՏՈՒՐԻ. ՈՐԴԻ ՎԱՐԴԱՆԻՆ ՋՈՐ ՑԱՆԿԱՑԱՆ ԱՄԷՆՆ ՋԵՐՄԵՌԱՆԴՆ ՍԻՐՈՎ, ՍՈՒՐԲ ԱՄԵՆԱՓՐԿՉԻՆ ԳՐԵՑԱՒ ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃԾԴ ՅՈՒԼԻՍԻ ՏԱՍՆ

'In memory of Khodja Usēp' (Joseph) son of Margar, his wife Bibi who is Ep'ransan (?), Sephat'un son of Murat Hamil and his wife Saralu (?) and Bałtasar son of Awak' and Vardan son of Asatur who desired all (this) with ardent love for the Holy All-Saviour. (This) was written in the year 1154 (=A.D. 1705), on July 10th.'[3]

The doorway itself is framed with brick and tile mosaic, in yellow, turquoise, cobalt blue, white, and purplish-black. The annexe has tile mosaic decoration in the spandrels of the façade, with an undated Armenian inscription at the centre; this decoration appears to be later work.

At the top of the west side of the south-east central pier is a painted inscription, dated 8 April 1668, in memory of Khatchatur and his parents.

There are stone crosses in various parts of the church, including the face of the step before the chancel.

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[3] Professor Dowsett has kindly provided this tentative transcription and translation from a photograph in which all the characters are not fully visible.

ST. MINAS

SURB MINAS or SURB LUSAVORITCH

THE Church of St. Minas was begun in 1108 (A.D. 1658/9) and completed in 1112 (A.D. 1662/3).[1]

In plan the church consists of two squares, with piers linked by pointed arches, and a rectangular vault to the west (Plate 56). The east square is covered by a dome resting on a drum supported on pendentives. The raised chancel, with a step in front, is surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse covered by a half-dome. The chancel is flanked by vestries to the north and south. Two side aisles are covered with vaults on pendentives. On the south side of the church are three doors, and there is a single door in the middle of the west side. At the east end of the courtyard to the south of the church is an annexe chapel, consisting of a triple arched façade, with a small raised altar at the centre. This chapel is flanked by a vestry to the north and a small storehouse to the south.

In the church, the altar contains a stone slab supported on a pedestal. The front half of the church is decorated with tiles of the Qajar period. These are combined with unattractive painted and gilt bands.

There are a number of wall paintings. Two small paintings, retouched, flank the chancel; to the north is *Mary, Joseph, the Infant Christ, and two Shepherds*, and to the south, *The Annunciation*. Both are framed with gilt stucco borders. The painted plaster in the apse is probably restored. In the half-dome above, there is a roundel of Christ surrounded by an angel, a bull, a lion, and an eagle, symbolizing the four Evangelists.

On the north wall at the east end there are four paintings, *Christ carrying the Cross*, *The Crucifixion*, *The Entombment*, and *The Resurrection* (Plate 58). On the south wall, opposite, are four more paintings by the same hand, *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Entry into Jerusalem*, *The Washing of the Feet*, and *The Betrayal* (Plate 59). On the central piers and pilasters at the sides of the church are eight paintings of Saints.

The most important painting, *The Last Judgement* (Plate 57), covers approximately 30 square metres of the upper north wall between the first and second pilasters. At the top, Christ is surrounded by the Virgin Mary, St. John, Saints, Angels, and the Faithful, and flanked by the Sun and the Moon. Below, the Archangel, with a spear in his right hand and scales in his left, tramples on the Devil. He is flanked by the Recording Angel and another devil, and angels blowing trumpets. On the left, the Faithful rise to Heaven, whilst to the right, the Damned are cast into Hell, which occupies the lower quarter of the composition; the Damned suffer a variety of indignities and tortures, exercising the full scope of the painter's imagination. There are many similarities between this painting and the *Last Judgement* in All Saviour's Cathedral; perhaps the artists were inspired from the same source, such as an engraving. Although in part crudely painted, this composition is one of the most successful in Julfa. The accomplishment of the drawing, particularly in the upper half, suggests that this painting might be partially the work of a foreign artist aided by local assistants. The painting badly needs cleaning, but otherwise it is in sound condition.

The north and south walls of the annexe are decorated with a frieze of crudely coloured tiles of the Qajar period. The altar in the annexe is decorated with three tiers of primitive paintings, and above it is a painting of the *Virgin Mary*, inscribed. All the paintings are poor work of the Julfa school.

There are various inscriptions and stone crosses in the church. The church also possesses a set of Gospels, dated 1479, with four paintings of the Evangelists and illuminated title-pages and tables.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii, 211, 215–6; it was repaired in 1827 by Agha Hovsep Amirian, and again in 1853.

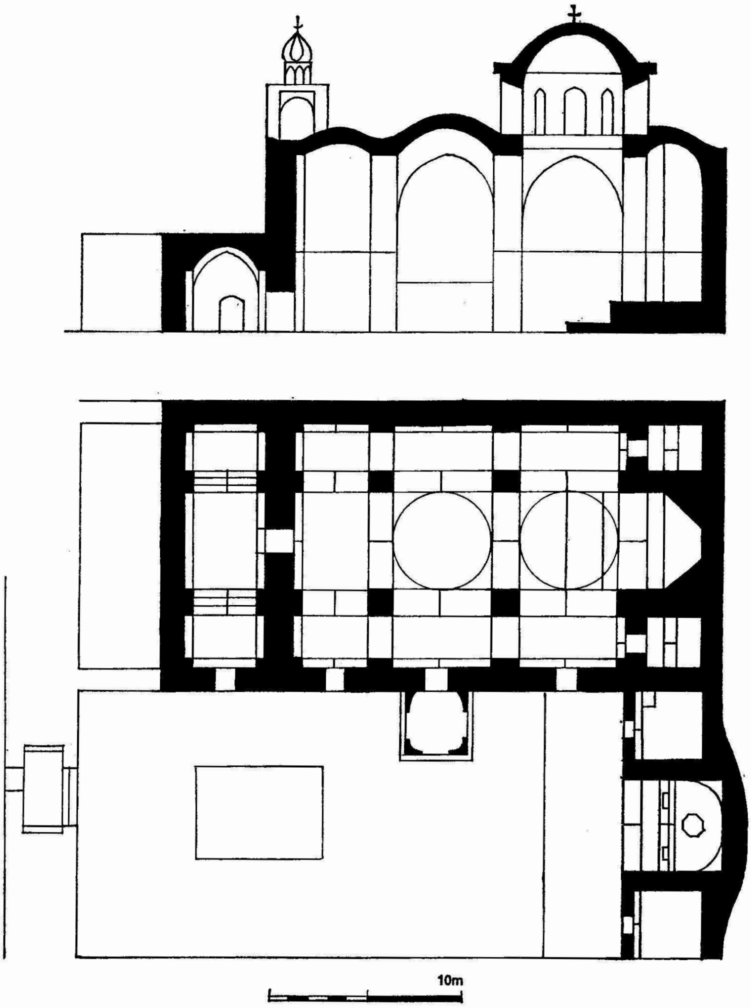

Fig. 20. St. Minas

ST. NERSES

SURB NERSES or SURB AWETIATZ

THE Church of St. Nerses was built by Awetik‘ Gilanentz; it took four years to complete, being begun in 1116 (A.D. 1666/7) and finished in 1120 (A.D. 1670/1).[1]

The plan is in the form of a double square, with two domes raised on groined pendentives (Plate 60); the dome to the east is pierced and supports a domed lantern with eight windows. Each of the shallow transepts to the north and south are braced with lateral quarter-arches. The domed lantern has been reinforced on the exterior with four buttresses, linked by cross-beams.

The raised chancel and altar are surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse and flanked by vestries to the north and south. The church has two doors on the south side, and a third at the west end of the church. To the south is a rectangular courtyard, with rooms on the east and west sides.

Above the altar is a painting, *The Madonna with God the Father, Christ, and the Twelve Disciples*; it is of the Julfa school and inscribed and dated 1724 A.D. (Plate 61). It is flanked by two almost identical paintings of *The Crucifixion*, surrounded by circular panels (? of the life of St. Nerses), and framed by Armenian inscriptions.

The vestry contains a tall wooden cross painted with a *Crucifixion* (Plate 62). It is made of two planks, 27 cms. wide and 1.5 cms. thick, and measures 145 by 185 cms. It is inscribed at the top,

ՅՆԹՀ YNT‘H(=INRI)

and at the foot,

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՈՍԿԱՆԻ ԿՈՂԱԿԻՑ || ՄԱԴԼԻՆԷ ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃՀ ՇԱՄՍ || Ա

‘In memory of Madlin(ē) wife of Oskan in the year 1170
(1st) Shams’ (21 March 1721, O.S.).

At the foot of the cross is Adam’s skull, depicted from below, with a snake to the left. On the left and right are the sun and moon. Though not very skilfully executed, the cross is expressively painted; it is local work.

Inside and outside the church there are various inscribed stone crosses.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op cit., pp. 210, 211.

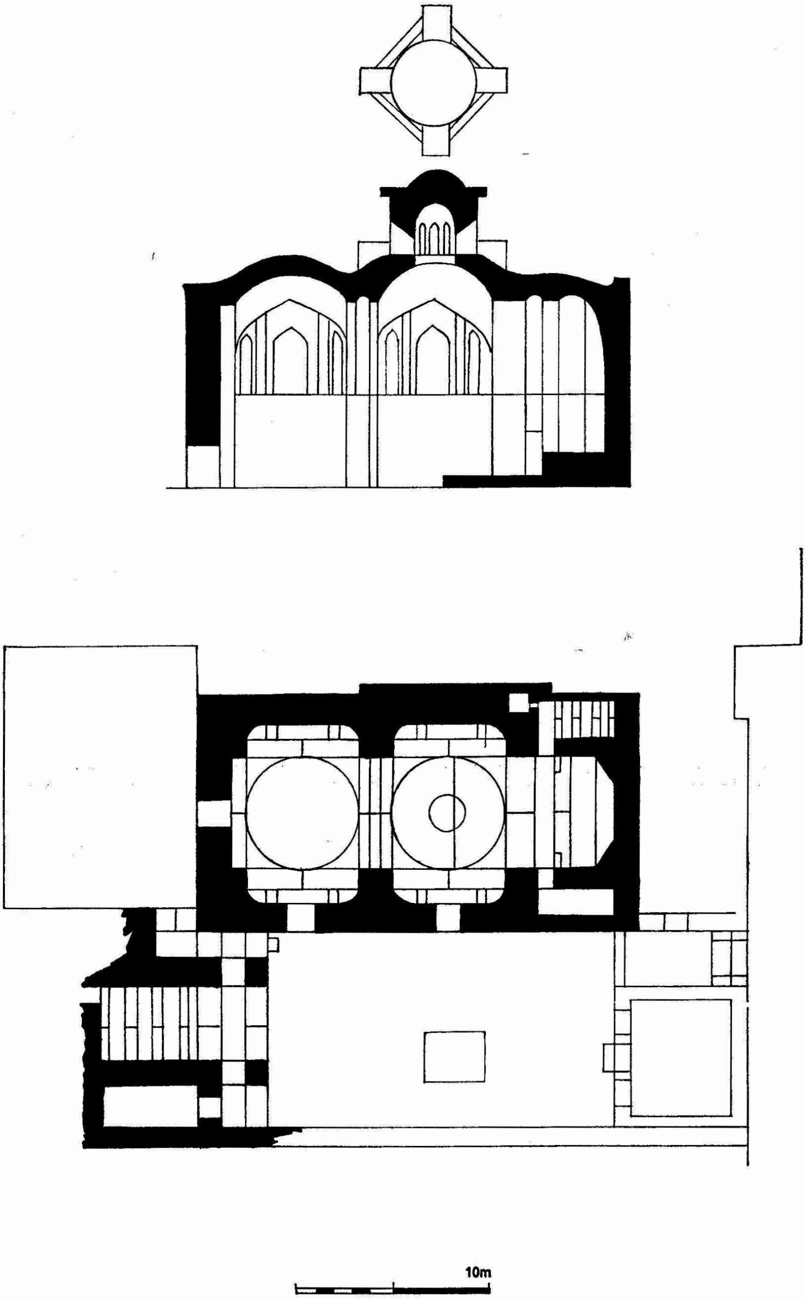

Fig. 21. St. Nerses

ST. NICHOLAS THE PATRIARCH

SURB NIKOGHAYOS HAIRAPET

According to Yovhaniantz, the Church of St. Nicholas was built before 1670.[1] It was probably constructed in 1644 or some years before, to judge by the dates on some stone crosses. The chapel in the annexe was built in 1774, in the name of St. Stephen. Its simple plan consists of a dome raised on a drum supported by pendentives, springing from four pointed arches (Plate 63). To the west is a rectangular vault on pendentives. The raised chancel is surrounded by a semi-octagonal apse and flanked by vestries to the north and south, the latter apparently enlarged at a later date. The west wall is pierced by a single window. Three doors on the south side lead into the courtyard.

The main door from the street is on the west side of the courtyard. According to Mr. L. Minasian, this street appears on a map of the Safavid period, with a tree at the north end in the same place as one there today. At the east end of the courtyard is a triple arched annexe, with a verandah before it supported by two wooden pillars. The central arch houses a small chapel.

Above the altar is a very poor painting of *The Resurrection*, dated 1919.

Belonging to the church is an altar curtain of painted cotton (*pintado*) from south India (Plate 65). It measures 390 by 460 cms., and depicts St. Mesrop, flanked by Christ and the Virgin Mary, surrounded by the Apostles on the side bands, and the Prophets above and below. At the corner are the four Evangelists. It is dated 1810 and inscribed in Armenian,

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՎԱՐԱԳՈՅՐՍ ՍԱՐԳԻՍԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՀԱՆԳՈՒՑԵԱԼ ՏԷՐ ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏԻՆ ՈՐ
ՓՈԽԵՑԱՒ ԱՌ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾ ԵՐԵՍՆԱՄԵԱՅ ՀԱՍԱԿԻ Ի ՄԱԴՐԱՍ ՔԱՂԱՔԻ
ՅԱՄԻ ՏԵԱՌՆ 1810 ՆԱԽԱՅ 9 Ի. ՎԱՅԵԼՈՒՄՆ ՂԱՐԱԳԷԼ ԹԱՂԻ
ՍՈՒՐԲ ԵԿԵՂԵՑՒՈՅՆ ՈՐ Ի ՆՈՐ ՋՈՒՂԱՅ {ԿՅ}

'This is in memory of the son of Sargis, the late Sir Karapet, who departed this life at the age of thirty years in the city of Madras in the year of the Lord 1810, on the 9th of Nakha (= 27 June O.S.). For the use of the Church of the parish of Gharagēl which is in New Julfa {YK}.'[2]

The curtain has a border of angels, and a decorative band of spear-headed motifs similar to the patterns in some of the *cuerda seca* tiles in Julfa.

The annexe houses a collection of paintings, mostly in a very bad state of preservation (Plate 64). They are all of the Julfa school, with the exception of a wooden cross painted with *The Crucifixion*. It measures 50 by 78 cms., and is 2 cms. thick. It is of mahogany-coloured wood, and is now broken into three pieces. It was cleaned in order to photograph it and the caretakers were persuaded to deposit it in the Cathedral museum. The painting appears to be Dutch work, of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Also in the annexe are the remains of a large painting, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, and various other smaller paintings, all of the Julfa school. The altar is decorated with three rows of very primitive paintings of the *Head of Christ*, and various *Saints*; on opposite sides of the altar are crude paintings of a cross and *The Deposition*. There are various carved crosses and many stone crosses.

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit. ii. 208. His date is based on the occurrence of St. Nicholas in lists of churches in letters dated 1670. Oskan lists a 'Surb-Nicolaus'; see p. 19, n. 1.

[2] The final pair of letters, which are inverted, are possibly the artist's initials or an abbreviation of the name *Yakob* (James); they correspond to no possible date.—C. Dowsett.

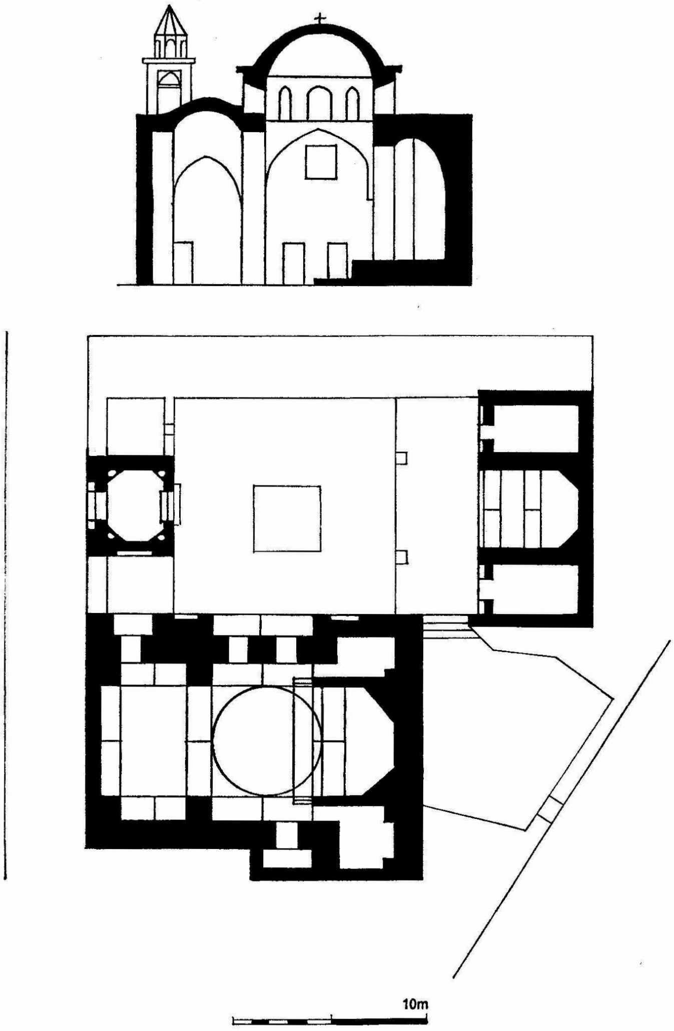

Fig. 22. St. Nicholas the Patriarch

ST. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

SURB LUSAVORITCH

According to Yovhaniantz, this church was built in 1178 (A.D. 1728/9),[1] but seventeenth-century gravestones in the courtyard suggest that it may be earlier, and was restored at the later date. The annexe on the south side was built by Tharkhan in 1163 (A.D. 1713/14) (Plates 68, 69).

The church has a central dome, raised on pendentives springing from four pointed arches, supporting an octagonal lantern with a conical roof (Plate 66); to the west is a second dome on pendentives, and further to the west, a gallery above the entrance, extending along the north and south sides of the first bay. At the east end of the church, the area in front of the raised chancel is vaulted, with additional small galleries to the north and south supported by arches; under these arches are doors giving access to the vestries flanking the chancel. The raised chancel and altar are lit by an opening in the roof of the unusual three-quarter dome over the semi-octagonal apse.

The church has two doors on the south side and a single door at the west end. A staircase in the north wall, just inside the west door, leads to the gallery above.

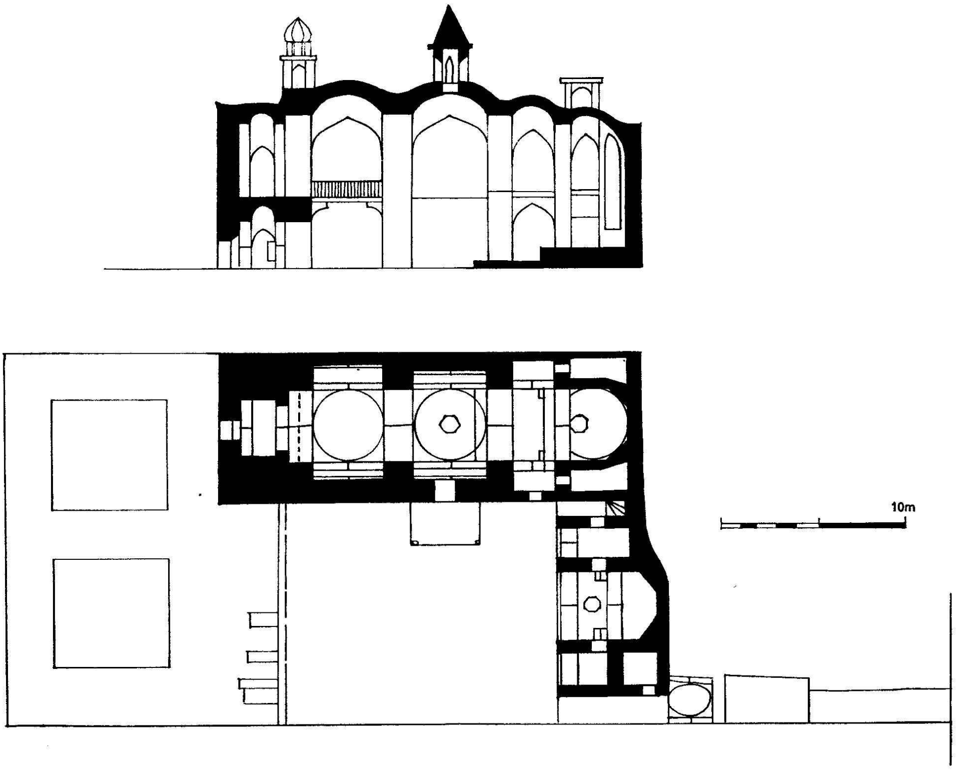

Fig. 23. St. Gregory the Illuminator

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[1] Yovhaniantz, op. cit., pp. 198, 199. Oskan mentions the church of 'Surb-Grigor' in his list; see p. 19, n. 1.

The plan of this church is confused; the long nave, broken up on each side, is unusual. The church was at some time extended westwards, which shows as a change in the type of floor paving inside the church (indicated on the plan with a dotted line) and a line of memorial stones south of the church which must have once been aligned with its west end. Gravestones outside the church are dated 1641, 1643, and 1646, and a priest's grave is dated 1712. The church is probably a seventeeth-century structure, rebuilt in 1713/14.

Inside the church, above the main altar is a painting of the Julfa school, *The Madonna and Child.* On the north and south sides of the chancel are two crude wall paintings: the first depicts Christ seated, squeezing grapes into a chalice, whilst a Bishop kneels before him (? St. Gregory), with God the Father above. The second painting is of *The Annunciation* (Plate 67). Both are inscribed in Armenian and undated.

Close to these paintings are two more of Saints, in similar style. Hanging on the north wall under the central dome are three oil paintings. The uppermost is of *St. Gregory the Illuminator,* surrounded by the scenes of his martyrdom, inscribed in Armenian, and Latin (Plate 67). On the lower left is *The Crucifixion,* and on the right, *The Enshrouding.* The latter is inscribed,

ՅԻՇԱՏ(Ա)Կ Է ՊԱՐՈՆ ՄԱՐԳԱՐԻՆ ԵՒ ԾՆ(Ո)Ղ(Ա)ՑՆ ԵՒ ՍԱՐԱԼՈՒԷ (?) ԵՒ ԾՆ(Ո)Ղ(Ա)ՑՆ ՈՐԴ(Ո)ՑՆ ԵՒ ԴՍՏ(Ե)Ր(Ա)ՑՆ Թ(Վ)ԻՆ ՌՃԿ

'In memory of Mister Margar and his parents and Saraluē (?) and her parents and sons and daughters. In the year 1160' (inc. 25 Sept. A.D. 1710).

All three pictures are local products.

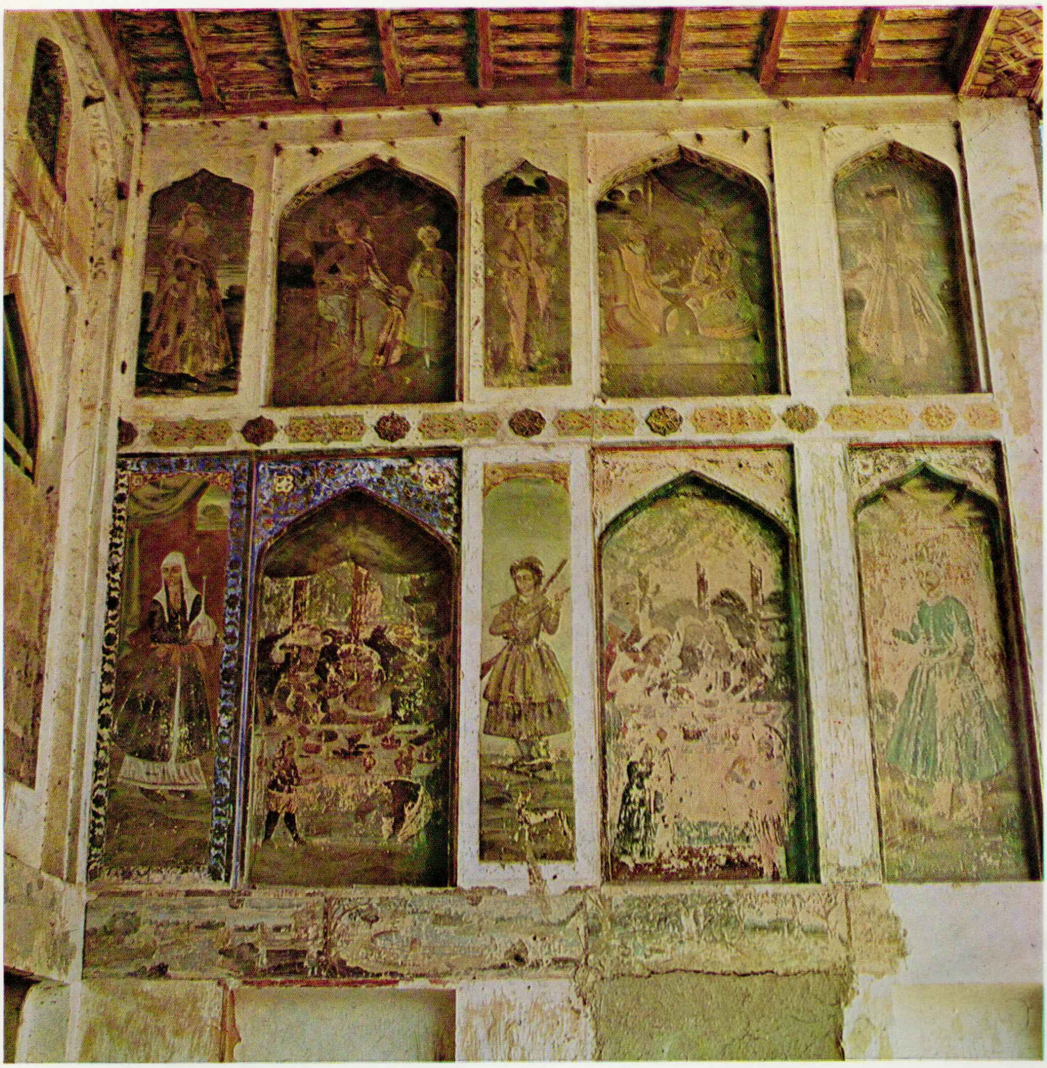
On the west face of the central piers, under the dome, hang identical oil paintings of the *Madonna and Child* (Plate 66).

At the base of the walls is a narrow frieze of white tiles set diagonally, with turquoise triangular tiles between them. The tiles are 22.5 cms. square. Long tiles, triangular in section, are set vertically at the angles of the walls. These are 13.5 by 2.5 cms., and each decorated with two purplish-black chevrons on a yellow ground.

The annexe on the east side of the courtyard is the finest architectural feature of the church (Plates 68, 69). It is two storeys high, with a brick façade of five arches. The spandrels of the arches are decorated with a pattern of small bricks in relief. Each arch is filled with a decorative wooden screen with movable partitions. In the centre is a raised chancel, approached by two steps on either side; above the altar is a painting of the Julfa school depicting the *Madonna standing on a crescent moon.* The tiles in the chancel are similar to the blue-and-yellow tiles in All Saviour's Cathedral; at the angles they are painted with cypress trees. To the sides of the chancel are a vestry and a storeroom; the final arch on the north side conceals a passage leading to a staircase giving access to the roof, and through the corresponding arch on the south side is the entrance to a long, partially covered passage leading to the street.

III

PRIVATE HOUSES AND THE MUSEUM



VI. HOUSE 'A' paintings on the west side of the verandah

HOUSE 'A'

The house is in the Tabriz quarter of Julfa and stands at the end of a large and well-planted walled garden. The entrance from the street is through an imposing gateway, with five arches behind which are several rooms and a kitchen, with a small verandah facing the garden (Figure 24) (Plate 71).

The central feature of the house is a large room (c) roofed by a shallow dome supported on groined pendentives which spring from four piers linked by pointed arches (Plate VII). This room is separated from a verandah (a) to the north by a wooden screen, once with movable panels sliding upwards. The verandah has a flat wooden roof supported by two massive carved wooden columns (Plates 70, 71). The decoration of the underside of the roof consists of a lattice of wooden slats fixed to the planked panels. The sides of the verandah are decorated with two rows of paintings, some in niches, with a landscape frieze below.

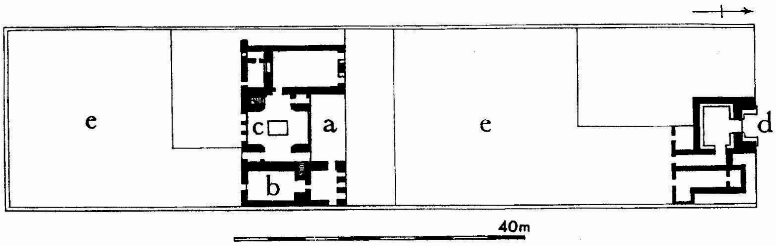


Fig. 24. Plan of House 'A' (after Sumbat): (a) the verandah (b) side room (c) main room (d) entrance from the street (e) garden

east side: *top row* standing figures in Persian costume.
PLATE 72 *bottom row* figures in European costume, including two seated women, a standing woman in a robe carrying a sceptre and looking at her reflection in a mirror,[1] and a standing man with a dog.
below a frieze of landscape panels.

west side: *top row* figures in Persian and European costume, including a man seated in a
PLATE VI chair, with a servant; and a princess receiving a lesson from her teacher.
bottom row three standing figures in Persian costume, and two scenes of feasting with the figures in European costume, the women with their bosoms exposed.
below a frieze of landscape panels.

The bottom row of paintings on the west side are executed in a cruder style than the rest.

On the east side of the verandah a small room leads to a side room (b) (Plate 76). The roof of this room is supported by six transverse arches linked by curved barrel-vaults. Below the springing of the arches the walls contain niches framed with stucco panels, cut in the shapes of vases, ewers, and animals. Similar plaster-work is to be found in the Ali Qapu palace in Isfahan, and in the *chini-khaneh* of the Shrine of Sheikh Safi at Ardebil.[2] The lower section of the wall was once painted with a design of hanging curtains, now concealed beneath a later coat of plaster. From this room a door leads to a second, smaller garden south of the house.

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[1] According to the Armenian artist Mr. Apraham Gourgenian, this figure represents Queen Elizabeth; he also maintains the house was built in 1655 by the Armenian translator for the English ambassador, who is represented with his wife in the main room.

[2] A. U. Pope, op. cit., p. 1194; J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington, 1956, Plate 4.

The main room of the house has a square sunken pool with a fountain at the centre (Plate VII). From this room an internal staircase leads to galleries on three sides. The walls of the main room are decorated with painted bands of trees, birds, and animals. In niches on the west and east sides are painted almost life-size figures in European costume (Plate 73):

west side: a man in European costume holding a gun and a bird, with a dog at his feet, in a landscape setting.

east side: a woman in European costume holding a pomegranate and a rosary, with a dog at her feet.

On the lower part of the walls on the same sides are rectangular panels painted in the Persian style, with scenes of feasting (Plate 75). These paintings are badly scored and partly concealed by later plastering.

The dome is finely decorated with painted plaster, with a gilded star motif at the centre (Plate 74), as are the upper parts of the galleries. The walls all show traces of painting and decoration now hidden by later plastering and whitewash. The galleries on the first floor lead to several smaller rooms. One of these is decorated with painted draperies, now mostly covered but partially visible where the later plaster has fallen away (Plates 76, 77). The old plaster, as elsewhere in the house, has a glistening surface as if covered with a transparent film of silver paint. This unusual finish was described by Chardin in his section on Persian building methods; he says it was obtained by mixing 'a Dust of the Stone Talcum, blended with Lime'; Tavernier gives the formula as 'Lime mixt with *Muscovy*-Green, pounded with a certain Gum to render the Lime more glutinous'.[2]

This house closely corresponds to the traveller de Bruyn's description of Khodja Minas' house in Julfa,[3] with a garden behind and in front of it, the gilded hall painted with flowers and other ornaments, and the vaulted ceiling 'divided into four compartments, in the middle of each of which is a golden star, intermixed with some colours'. As he remarks, 'the front-gate of most of these houses [in Julfa] is very small, partly to prevent the *Persians* from riding in on horseback, and partly to avoid any shew of the magnificence within'.

The custom of decorating the interiors of houses with figures, often dressed in European costume, is mentioned by several travellers who saw such paintings in both Armenian and Persian houses. De Bruyn describes the house of Khodja Sarfraz, where 'all the walls are painted and full of figures as big as the life. Among others there is a *Turkish* man and a *Turkish* woman, and several other figures dressed after the *Persian* and *Spanish* manner, at some distance the one from the other.' He also describes the palace of Sadet-Abad, S.E. of Isfahan, where 'upon the walls are six pictures in niches, as big as the life; they are of men and women, and four of them are represented in the *Spanish* habit, with each a glass of wine in the hand. You have here also two women painted on the two walls, beside each other, one after the *Spanish* manner, and one dressed after the ancient manner; but they are very indifferently done.'[4] Olearius gives a description of Khodja Sarfraz' house in Julfa, where the Duke of Holstein's ambassadors were entertained in 1637, in a hall 'which looked into the Garden. It was arched all about, and there were on the Walls certain pictures representing the Women of most Nations in the World, dress'd according to the mode of their several countries.'[5] He also mentions that the hall of the '*Eahtemad Dowlet*, or Chancellor . . . had on the upper part of it, towards the Roof, several Pourtractures of Women, cloath'd in several Modes, all done after some *European* Copies'.

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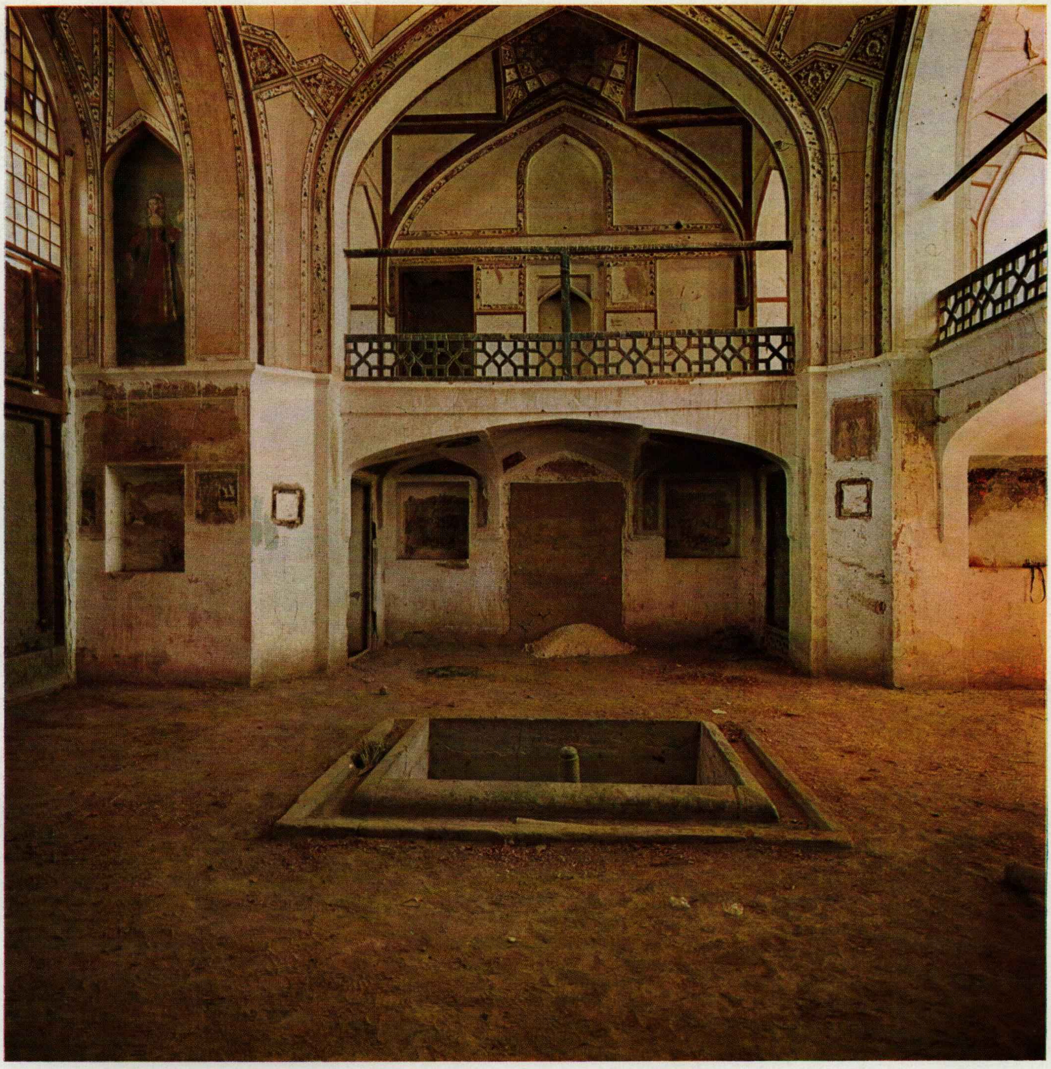
[2] Chardin, op. cit., p. 260: 'The Shell of the House being finished, they set about the inside of it; they overcast it first with the Mortar, call'd *Kaguil*, then put on a Layer of fine Plaster, then they whiten it, or do it over with beaten Talcum, which is a Dust of the Stone Talcum, blended with Lime, that gives a fine Gloss to the Walls, Vaults, and other Things that are overcast with it, for you would think that those Walls are Silver'd over; therefore the *Persians* call that Dust *Zer, varac*, i.e. Leaf Silver.' Tavernier, op. cit., p. 147.

[3] De Bruyn, op. cit., pp. 226–7. (Appendix, p. 86). Both the position and plan of the house suggest it is the 'house of the chief Armenian merchants' marked (4) on his view of Isfahan; see Fig. 1. p. 2.

[4] ibid., pp. 200–1.

[5] Olearius, op. cit., pp. 205, 212.



VII. HOUSE 'A' interior of the main room

Sir Thomas Herbert, a very observant traveller, describes houses in Shiraz and Aminabad which were all gilded and painted,[6] and was shocked by the decorations in Khodja Nazar's house in Julfa: 'a Christian he professes himself, but . . . his house was furnished with such ugly beastly Pictures, such ugly postures as are not fit to be remembered'.[7] The upper rooms of a Persian pavilion in Isfahan were 'beautified with a variety of landskips which represent their manner of sport, hawking, fishing, riding, shooting, wrastling, courting and other fancies. The roof upon the parget was gilt and painted with blew and other colours.' At Farahabad he saw a series of paintings which were so erotic that they moved him to comment, 'in the Gallery where the Mirrours are, not only on the sides but on the arch over the head in Story or Landskip is pencil'd several immodest sports and gambols; such, as if *Aretine* had given the directions; *Lavoltoes*, which so much offended our eyes with shame, that they are in no wise fit to be remembered'.[8]

It is clear from these quotations that the paintings surviving in House 'A' represent some of the types of decoration described by these seventeenth-century travellers. Like the paintings in the churches, however, it is hard to decide which are the work of local painters and which of foreign artists. Describing a state room in the royal palace at Ashraf on the Caspian Sea, Herbert says 'the seeling was garnished with gold, and pencill'd with Story in lively colours; all which see'd to strive whether Art or Nature to a judicious eye would be more acceptable. One *John* a *Dutch-man* (who had long served the King) celebrated his skill here to the admiration of the Persians and his own advantage.' From this it is evident that foreign artists were employed for this type of decoration. There is also record of an Armenian painter called Minas, who studied in Aleppo with European artists and on return decorated the houses of rich Armenians with the help of his pupils.[9] In House 'A' the most accomplished paintings are the standing figures of a man and a woman in the main room, and the details of the foreign costume appear to be so accurately presented that it is possible that these two pictures might be the work of a foreigner. The Persian paintings in the same room are very close in style to contemporary manuscript paintings, and are obviously local work. The verandah paintings are skilfully executed, but a certain wooden quality in the stance of the figures suggests they are local products, albeit influenced by European painting. The bottom row of paintings on the west side of the verandah are in yet another, cruder style, and are perhaps later pictures replacing others which had suffered exposure to the weather, like the left-hand painting on the bottom east side. The ladies with their *décolletage* hint at the type of painting which so shocked Herbert, and the landscape panels accord well with the 'landskip' friezes he also noted in Isfahan.

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[6] Herbert, op. cit. The house of Shah Ali Bey in Shiraz p.128) had a dining-room '. . . the roof [of which] was arched, and] the walls embossed with gold and wrought into Imagery, so shadowed that it was hard to judge whether imbossed, insculpt or painted'. He describes (p. 132) a stately banqueting-house in Shiraz with a roof embossed with gold and a wall painted with scenes from the battle of Ormuz. A pavilion in Aminabad (p. 153) had 'five rooms upon a floor, which were well painted with Imagery and embossed with gold'.

[7] ibid., p. 155.

[8] ibid., pp. 165, 175.

[9] Morgenstern, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1385.

HOUSE 'B'

This house is also in the Tabriz quarter of Julfa, and is built round a central open courtyard, entered from the street by a covered passage at the north-west angle. On the north side of the courtyard are several rooms; the large central room has a glazed wooden screen which can be raised to convert it into a verandah. This room, of Safavid construction, was redecorated in the nineteenth century. To the west are smaller rooms, including a room decorated with carved stucco and cut-glass patterns of the Qajar period (Plate 81).

On the south side of the courtyard are similar rooms with steps leading up to them. Some retain their original carved wooden window frames, with coloured glass panels (Plate 78).[1] The stone sill which runs right round the courtyard is carved in relief with elongated, pointed medallions. At the east end of the courtyard the sill is wider and once formed a verandah, with a wooden roof supported by twin wooden columns. In the centre of the courtyard is a small garden, and at the south-east angle a well.

There are three rooms at the west end of the courtyard. The walls of the first room, nearest to the covered passage from the street, contain eleven niches decorated with paintings. In the centre of the end wall is a painting of a family group at table, with a landscape background (Plates VIII, 79). The figures are well painted and the composition recalls similar subjects in Dutch seventeenth-century painting.[2]

The other paintings are in a more primitive style. On either side of the central niche are portraits of a man in European costume, and a man with a crown wearing a robe lined with ermine, both in oval frames against a landscape background (Plate 79).[3] On the south wall, from left to right, are:

PLATE 80 (a) a seated figure, in Persian costume, with two attendants, one playing a musical instrument, the other holding a cup.
(b) a figure in Persian costume standing by a table holding a pen, before an open book.
(c) a standing figure in European costume, holding a stick; on the left is a crouching dog and in the distance a landscape with houses.
(d) a seated man and woman in Persian costume; the woman passes the man a pear and holds a cup; before them is an octagonal tray of fruit.

On the north wall, from left to right, are:

(e) a seated man and woman in Persian costume, playing a pipe and a tambourine.
(f) a woman in European costume, lifting her skirt to reveal a garter; she carries a flower, and at her feet is a dog.
(g) a man and woman elaborately dressed in Persian costume; he holds a cane, she holds a rose and a pair of gloves.
(h) two seated lovers in Persian costume; one holds a flask.

The central painting is the work of a very skilful painter, and the composition and the detail of the costumes suggest it was almost certainly painted by a European, probably a Dutchman. The other paintings are by comparison almost hilariously ill-drawn, and likely to be the work of local assistants. However, they provide excellent details of Persian costume of the period.

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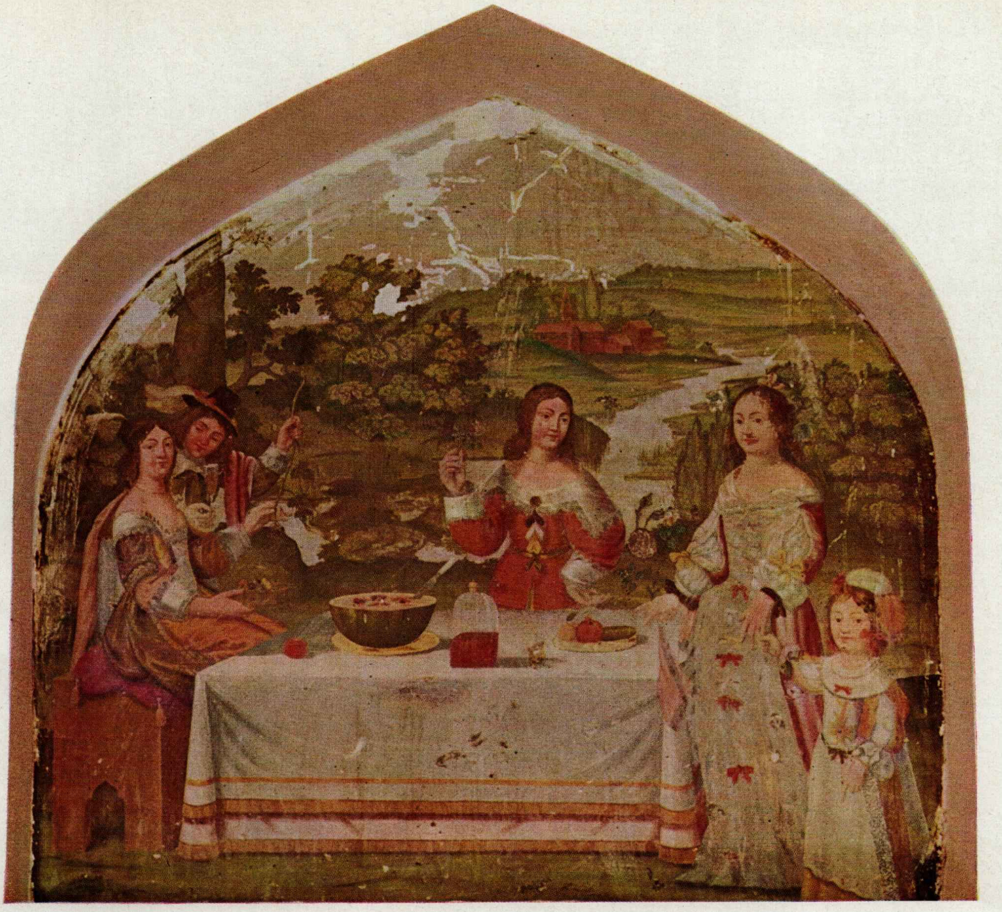
[1] Both Chardin and Tavernier mention coloured glass in windows; see Pope, op. cit., p. 1363.

[2] A painting of an open-air banquet by Esaias van de Velde (*c.* 1615) shows such a subject; it also shows square glass bottles being used, like the one on the table of the Julfa painting (J. Timmers, *A History of Dutch Life and Art*, 1959; Plate 338).

[3] One of these paintings has been identified by the Armenian artist A. Gourgenian as Israel Ori, an officer in the French army who lived in Germany and Italy, and who was a guest in the house in 1709/10; he was given the title of Colonel by Peter the Great, who is himself the subject of the second painting. The two paintings are certainly cruder than the picture they flank, and may be later additions to the room's decoration. For details of the career of Israel Orie and his visit to Isfahan as Russian ambassador, see Père, Krusinski, *Histoire de la Dernière Revolution de Perse*, pp. 128–30; Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 63–4.

Peter the Great (1672–1725) was painted by de Bruyn on his voyage to Persia in 1701, though the Julfa portrait is not sufficiently well painted to propose him as a possible executant; see *Bibliographie Universelle*, 1843, t. vi, p. 74.



VIII. HOUSE 'B' painted niche, with figures in European costume round a table, in a landscape setting

THE MUSEUM

The museum occupies a building to the north of All Saviour's Cathedral. The most valuable part of its contents is the collection of 683 Armenian manuscripts, which, whilst no rival to the three major collections in Etchmiadzin, Jerusalem, and Venice, is still large enough to merit attention. Unfortunately, like other objects in the museum, the manuscripts are kept in locked and sealed glass cases and permission to study them is obtained with difficulty.

The other objects are of varying interest, such as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European paintings (Plates 82, 83), sculpture, and engravings brought back by the Armenian merchants on their travels, and oil paintings of the Julfa school (Plates 84, 85), as well as examples of Armenian embroidery (Plates 86–9), textiles, church plate, coins, engravings, maps, and early Armenian printed books (Plates 90, 91). Many of the objects bear Armenian inscriptions and dates and would repay closer study. For instance, a cast metal censer (Plate 91) inscribed and dated 1646 A.D. is of a type found elsewhere in the Near East and previously believed by some scholars to be Coptic, or early Christian.

At the moment, the museum collection needs to be properly classified and displayed, and in the future it could well be supplemented with material from older houses being demolished. The manuscript collection might benefit from being separately housed, where it could be easily studied under proper conditions of security.

APPENDIX

TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS OF JULFA

The following quotations have been taken from various travellers, listed below; for the bibliography, see pp. 88–9. The preliminary date indicates the traveller's first arrival in Isfahan.

	John Cartwright
? 1604	Arak'el of Tabriz
	Pedro Teixeira (*c.* 1570–?)
1617	Pietro della Valle (1586–1652)
1618	Garcia de Silva y Figueroa (1574–*c.* 1628)
1628	Sir Thomas Herbert (1606–82)
1633	Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–89)
1637	Adam Olearius (1600–71)
1644	Père Rafaël du Mans (1613–?)
c. 1650	Gabriel de Chinon
1664	Jean de Thévenot (1633–67)
1664	André Daulier Deslandes
1666	Sir John Chardin (1643–1713)
1671	Jan Struys (b. ?–1694)
1677	John Fryer (b. ?–1733)
1685	Sir William Hedges (1632–1701)
1701	Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1726)
	Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708)

OLD JULFA AND THE EMIGRATION

CARTWRIGHT, pp. 35–36:

At length our *Caravan* ferried over the foresaid River, and so we arrived at *Chiulfal* [Old Julfa], a town situate in the frontiers between the *Armenians* and the *Atropatians*, and yet within *Armenia*, inhabited by Christians, partly *Armenians*, partly *Georgians*: a people rather given to the traffique of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then [i.e., than] instructed in weapons and matters of warre. This towne consisteth of two thousand houses and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rocky mountaine in so barren a soile, that they are constrained to fetch most of their provision, only wine excepted, from the City *Nassiuan*, half a dayes journey off, which some think to be *Artaxata*, in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. The buildings of *Chiulfal* are very faire, all of hard quarry stone: and the inhabitants very courteous and affable, great drinkers of wine, but no braulers in that drunken humour, and when they are most in drinke, they poure out their prayers, especially to the Virgin *Mary*, as the absolute commander of her Sonne JESUS CHRIST, and to other Saints as Intercessors. It is subject and tributary to the Scepter of *Persia*, and contrariwise both by nature and affection great enemies to the Turke. This Towne was much endangered in the warres betwixt *Amurat* the great Turke, and *Mahomet Codibanda* the *Persian* King, ready to bee swallowed up of both. One while the *Bassae* of *Reiuan* [? Pasha of Erivan], on the great Turkes behalfe, made an inrode upon them with a thousand and five hundred Harquebusiers, whom they were faine to pacifie with a very bountifull present, excusing themselves, that if they had beene backward in bringing unto him their voluntary tributes, it was done for feare, least they should have fallen into the displeasure of *Mahomet Codibanda* their King: who no doubt if hee should have understood any such matter, would have been ready to destroy their Countrey, and deprive them of their liberty and lives. The *Bassae* was no sooner departed with this answere and their present; but forthwith *Aliculi-cham* was sent by the Persian King with three thousand Souldiers, and with this direction, that if the country were subdued by the Turks, he should fight against it: and if it had voluntarily yeelded it selfe unto them, hee should not only recover it, but also burne it, and bring away all the chiefe men of the Country for prisoners and slaves. To avoid which danger, these poor *Chiulfalini* were glad to present the Persian Prince with greater and more liberal gifts, then they did their enemy *Bassae*. Thus these miserable people in the midst of armes and squadrons of the enemy, were constrained, what with presents, and what with lies, notably to preserve their liberties, and their lives in safety.

TAVERNIER, i. 19:

Zulfa, the ancient Habitation of the *Armenians*, which *Sha Abas* carried into *Persia*, is a Town squeezed between two Mountains, through which the *Aras* runs, leaving but little Land on either side. It carries no Boats till about two Leagues below (for upward it will hardly bear a piece of Timber) and in regard the Country grows low and extends it self into Plains, there is no fear of Rocks, the course of the Stream being very quiet. There was a fair Stone-Bridge, which *Sha-Abas* caus'd to be broken down; when he wholly destroy'd the Town, that it might be no harbour for the *Turks*. Neither by the Ruines, nor by its Situation, doth it appear to have been a City of any ancient Beauty; the Stones were clapt unskilfully together without Morter, so that the Houses were more like

Caves than Houses. The North-West side was most inhabited, there being nothing on the other side with taking notice of. The Lands above *Zulfa* being very fertil, there are certain *Armenian* Families return'd, who live very quietly. *Cogia Nazar*, one of the chief *Armenians* that went out of *Zulfa*, growing rich by Trade, and being in great reputation with *Sha-Abas* and *Sha-Sefi* his Successor, who made him *Kelonter*, or Chief Judge of the *Armenian* Nation, built two great Inns, for the Honour of his Country, in Zulfa, upon each side of the River one. He spent above an hundred thousand Crowns, but dying left two remarkable Pieces of Work unfinish'd.

TEIXEIRA, p. 246:

Gueylon or Guylan [Gilan], another of the provinces subject to Persia, is very extensive and contains many very large districts. It borders on the Caspian Sea, which takes its name therefrom, for the Persians call it Daryáh Gueylany (Sea of Gueylon). It is divided into five governments, the capitals of which are the cities of Raxt, Laion, Gaxkhar, Langarkanon, and Kudam. Gueylon is commonly called End-safet, that is, White India, because it is a pleasant, cool, and fertile land. It confines with Moscovia, which the Persians call Moscau.

DU MANS (pp. 182–3), on the contrary stresses the unhealthy climate and states that of the 30,000 families settled in the area, only 1,200 survived by 1660:

D'autres [Arméniens] en quantité furent transportés dans le Mazenderon vers la mer Caspie, qui a un très mauvais air à cause de la quantité de serpens, de grenouilles, d'aspics, de tortues, de crapauds et autres bestes aquatiques qui vivent à leur aise le long de l'hiver dans ces marais et eaux croupies; mais venant l'esté, lorsque tout se dessèche, ces animaux viennent à mourir pour la pluspart, et ils infectent et empoisonnent l'air, de sort que les habitans en ce païs sont de couleur jausne et deffaicts comme des morts déterrés. En ce païs là, les chairs des sangliers, des cerfs, des chevreuils, qui en regorge, les canards, oyes et autres tels oiseaux aquatiques qui obscurcissent l'air dans leur vol, sont sans goust et insipides; — enfin, c'est une terre qui dévore ses habitans, de sorte que quelque trente mille familles d'Arméniens que le roy Chabbas y transporta, à peine s'en peust-il à présent compter douze cents, qui, de jour en jour, se vont se réduisant à néant, ainsi que m'a dit leur évesque appellé Isaac Vertabiete, qui luymesme, pour ce subject, s'est retiré de ce lieu, comme un véritable pasteur arménien à qui sa peau est plus chère que celle de ses brebis, contre la pratique du bon pasteur de l'Évangile.

NEW JULFA

FIGUEROA, pp. 193–5:

Outre la tres-belle perspective, que l'on a, en quelque endroit du pont, que l'on se trouve, il y en a une beaucoup plus agreable que les autres, et c'est celle que forment les Colonies, qui sont à la main droite de l'un et de l'autre costé de la riviere. Celle qui est la plus proche, et du costé de la Ville, est celle des *Taurisans*, habitée par ceux qui y ont esté amenez de la ville de *Tauris*, que quelques-uns croyent estre l'ancienne *Ecbatane*, ville capitale de la grande Province de Medie; ses Habitans sont la pluspart Marchands, qui estoient autrefois les plus considerables de cette Ville-là. L'autre Colonie, qui est vis à vis de celle-cy, de l'autre costé de la riviere, est celle de la nouvelle *Zulpha*. Ce Faux-bourg est ainsi nommé de la Ville capitale de la grande Armenie; laquelle ayant esté entierement détruite par *Schach Abas*, il transporta ses plus riches Habitans en ce lieu là; où ils ne laissent pas de continuer leur commerce; en sorte que parmy un si grand nombre, qui sont la pluspart assez incommodez, il y en a de si riches, qu'ils on dequoy se consoler de l'affliction de leur exil. Ces deux nouvelles Colonies on du costé de la riviere, en tout l'espace qu'elles occupent, de grandes et de fort belles maisons, dont une partie a esté bastie par leurs plus riches Habitans, mais la pluspart, avec grands frais, par les Sultans, ou principaux Ministres, et autres Serviteurs du Roy, tant par complaisance pour luy, parce qu'ils sçavoient, qu'il prenoit plaisir à faire achever cet ouvrage, que parce qu'en effet c'est là un des plus beaux lieux, et une des plus belles veuës du monde. Et par ce moyen ces Faux-bourgs, qui on sans comparaison plus de belles ruës et de belles maisons que la Ville mesme, sont devenus beaucoup plus considerables qu'elle . . . Ces Colonies de *Tauris* et de *Zulpha*, avec celles des anciens *Gaores* de *Iesda* et de *Kerman*, sont ensemble environ dix mille maisons, mais les jardins et les vergers qu'elles comprennent, leur donnent une si grande estenduë, que l'on diroit qu'elles contiennent beaucoup plus d'Habitans, qu'il n'y en a en effet. Outre que les maisons sont beaucoup plus grandes, et bien mieux basties que celles de la Ville . . .

p. 201:

Le Gouverneur principal, que l'on appelle icy *Vizir* ou *Goazil*, c'est le Chastelain ou Capitaine du Fort, qui y demeure tousiours, avec quelque peu de Soldats, et quelques-uns de ses domestiques. Lors que l'Ambassadeur y fut, l'on bastissoit entre le Fort et la Ville plusieurs maisons assez raisonnables, pour une autre Colonie d'Armeniens, que le Roy faisoit venir de la ville d'*Eruan*.

TAVERNIER, iv. 157–8:

Zulpha . . . is so much encreas'd for some years since, that it may now pass for a large City, being almost a League and a half long, and near upon half as much broad. There are two principal Streets which contain near upon the whole length, one whereof has on each side a row of *Tchinars*, the roots whereof are refresh'd by a small Channel of Water, which by a particular order the *Armenians* bring to the City, to water their Gardens. The most part of the other Streets have also a row of Trees, and a Channel. And for their Houses, they are generally better built, and more chearful than those of *Ispahan*.

DU MANS, p. 182:

Les habitans de l'ancien Erivan furent logés dans la ville proche de la forteresse, là où il y avoit quantité de champs et de terres labourables. Cette contrée ou quartier fut nommée Erivan. D'autres, mais ramassés de divers lieux, furent mis hors de la ville en un grand faubourg, par delà la forteresse, appellé Serabana. D'aucuns s'appelloient Tebrisi comme venus de Tauris, Nakchivani comme venus de Nakchivan. D'autres furent mis au-dessus la maison du roy hors la ville, appellée *Chamsabat*, d'autres en *Abbasabat*.

THÉVENOT, ii. 79:

The City of *Ispahan* hath also great Suburbs, where many Persons of Quality live. The best built, most beautiful and richest of all, is the Suburbs of *Giolfa*, that lies beyond the River of *Senderu*, and the Walls of its Gardens being near that River; in this Burrough or Suburbs live the *Armenians*, whom *Schah Abbas* the first, transplanted thither, after he had ruined a Town of that Name in the Upper *Armenia*; And they thought fit to give this new Habitation the Name of their ancient Town and Countrey, to preserve the memory of it; so that to distinguish them from the others, they are commonly called *Giolfalu*, (that's to say), one of *Giolfa*. All round *Giolfa* there are a great many other Cantons, which are likewise pretty well built, not onely of *Armenians* who have left their own Countrey to come and live there, but also of other Nations: There are the Cantons of *Ecrivan*, *Nackhuan*, *Chaksaban*, *Sirou-Kainan*, *Gaur*, *Sitchen*, *Mekrigan*, etc. The quarter of *Taurislu* called *Tauris-Abad*, or *Abis-Abad*, which is opposite to *Giolfa*, on this side of the River towards *Ispahan*, is much bigger than *Giolfa*, but neither so pleasant nor so well built.

CHARDIN, ii. 97:

. . . *Giulfa*, which is part of the suburbs of *Ispahan*, is inhabited altogether by Christians that come out of *Armenia*, tho not at all from one part, and therefore they are divided into two sorts of Colonies. Of which the Principal is the Colony of the *Giulfali* so called as being once the inhabitants of *Jiulfa*, a small Town in *Armenia*, built upon the Banks of *Araxis*, who built this Burrough when they were transplanted to *Ispahan*, and gave it the name of their former Habitation. Since, and in these times the other *Armenians* being constrain'd to remove from the Village where they had before seated themselves at one end of Isfahan, came and settl'd at the end of this new Town, adding new buildings to it, which make four distinct Quarters, the one call'd the Quarter of the *Hirvanli*, the other of the *Nakshivanli*, as being peopled by the Inhabitants of two cities in *Armenia*, *Nackchivan* and *Hirvan*. The other two are call'd *Shams-abadi*, *Sheik-Sabani*, in regard that they who inhabit 'em formerly liv'd in the two Suburbs of *Ispahan*, *Shams-abad*, or the habitation of the Sun, and *Sheik-Sabana*, the Habitation of the *Ancient Mason*.

FRYER, p. 265:

. . . we cross the old bottom of the River to the Town [Julfa] situate in the same manner *Southwark* is from *London*. Here inhabit not only *Armenians* but the Ancient *Gabers*, who remain here with their Tribes; with some Mechanick *French* (as Jewellers, Gunsmiths, and Watchmakers); and some few *Musslemen*, as Spies rather than Inmates. Of the *Armenian* Christians, here are more than Six thousand Families, besides an innumerable Company of dispersed Husbandmen in the Villages, following their Patriarch in the same Faith. The *French* are all *Calvinists*.

DE BRUYN, i. 225–6:

The town or suburb of *Julpha* is divided into several parts, and particularly into the old and new colony. The old one, which they call *Soeg-ga*, is inhabited by the principal merchants; and they say their ancestors came thither from several parts, and even from the frontiers of *Turkey*, in the reign of *Abbas* the great, and that this Prince assigned them certain lands for their support. The *Gawres*, the ancient followers of Zoroaster, settled there likewise with some strangers . . . New *Julfa* is higher up and subdivided into several districts, (1) that of *Gaif-rabaet* or of *Koets*, inhabited by stone-cutters who work for buildings and tombs; (2) that of *Tabriese*, full of weavers and artificers in stuffs, among whom are some *Frenchmen*; (3) that of *Toest* or of *Samsha-baet*, which belongs to the old colony, and is inhabited by merchants and artificers; (4) that of *Eriwan*, full of common people; (5, 6, and 7) are called *Nagt-siewaen*, *Siachsa-baen* and *Kasket-sie*; these are inhabited by the same, and all these people are called after the district they live in, without any other distinction. Old *Julfa* is much larger than all the other districts put together, and contains near two thousand families, of which are those of some of the most wealthy and most considerable merchants.... The old *Julfa* properly belongs to the King's grand-mother, whom they call *Nawash-ali*, a title they commonly confer upon persons of great power and condition: But all the other districts we have enumerated are under the *Nagasi-bashi* or chief of the King's painters. They have nevertheless their particular chiefs, and they had formerly a burgomaster.

See also Herbert, p. 169.

FOREIGN TRADE

HERBERT, pp. 158–9:

The *Armenians* at this day are the greatest travellers East and West of any *Asiaticks*: desire of gain and affectation after novelties inducing them: Albeit indeed the advantage they have in their scituation, so near neighbouring the Seas *Caspian, Euxine, Mediterranean* and the *Palus Meotis*, give them more than ordinary encouragement; and whence it comes, that at this day the generality more incline to Merchandize than *Mars*, notwithstanding that the *Turk*, *Tartar* and *Persian* are oft causelesly quarrelling with them; and that the *Turk* and *Persian* by turns domineer over them.

OLEARIUS, vi. 241:

The *Armenian* Merchants, who are *Christians*, are the richest of any, by reason of the pains they take in making Voyages themselves, which is more than the other *Persians* do, though both have an absolute Freedome to Traffick where they please themselves, as Foreiners have the liberty to come into *Persia*, and put off their Commodities there, paying custom; contrary to what is observ'd in *Muscovy*, where the Subjects cannot go out of the Kingdom without the *Czaar's* express permission.

TAVERNIER, V. 229:

The Commerce of *Persia*, as in all other Kingdoms, consists in the Trade of the Country and Forraign Traffick. Only with a difference, that the Country Trade is in the hands of the *Persians* and *Jews*, the forraign Traffic in the hands of the *Armenians* only, who are as it were the Kings and Noble mens Factors to sell their silk.

p. 230

The most considerable commodities of *Persia* are the Silks which come out of the province of *Guilan*.

DU MANS, p. 181:

Outre ce trafic, il y a les soyes, *abrichon*, qui se produisent et se recueillent dans le pays du Guilan, contrée de Perse très aquatique, marescageuse et proche vers la mer Caspie. Les Arméniens d'ordinaire font ce trafic et les transportent par la Turquie à Smyrne et à Alep; puis par la mer Méditerranée, ils les portent à Venise et Liguorne, et de là rapportent de l'argent net, le tout en piastres ou escus d'or et sequins; d'autres rapportent des perles fausses de compte, *taclidi*, des miroüers, *ainés*, et telles autres denrées de Venise, des lunettes, *ainak*, des mouchettes, des chapelets de verre, du coural, *mergoun*, de l'ambre jausne, des verres colorés pour faire des vitres, en quoy ils treuvoient autrefois un grandissime profit, et ce depuis le temps de Chabbas . . .

pp. 185–6:

Touchant donc l'advance que Chabbas fit aux Arméniens en ne leur redemandant son capital que après plusieurs années, leur donnant l'intérest, ceux de Julpha, comme nous avons dit, firent profiter le talent; ceux de Serabana, qui sont de vrays *toulongi* (gens de néant), mangèrent une partie du bien du roy, et lorsque le terme fut venu, et que l'on pressa de payer, ils furent bien empeschés. Les Augustins Portugois, en ce temps que leurs conquestes et trafic dans les Indes florissoient, avoient de grandes ausmosnes à faire; ils jugèrent icelles estre bien employées si l'on acquittoit ces chrestiens, à la charge pour eux de faire profession de la foy apostolique et romaine, ce qu'ils firent facilement. Chabbas, contre son espérance, se voyant païé en belle monnoye, leur demanda qui leur avoit donné de l'argent; ayant entendu le procédé, il dit que si pour de l'argent l'on changeoit de religion, il vouloit que l'on prist la sienne, son argent estant aussi bon que celuy des Francs. Ce faict, il contraignit la pluspart par force à estre Mores, et les fit tailler (*sonnet*). Depuis, la pluspart sont retournés à l'église, et depuis ce temps là, ils n'ont faict que vivoter, partie à vendre du vin, partie à d'autres telles coionneries qui les ont tousiours tenus en la bassesse, jusques à ce dernier coup que l'on les a escartés de la ville qui estoit le principal entretien de ces misérables; s'ils sont traictés de la sorte, ils ne le méritent que trop.

p. 332 (from a letter written by a Capuchin living in Tabriz):

The Armenian merchants of Julfa have their agents and stores in Tabriz, for the caravans coming from Smyrna and Aleppo, bringing to Persia—'draps de Londres, de France et de Venise, le korail, l'ambre jaune, le papier, les miroirs de Venise, fer blanc et autres ouvrages de draps et étoffes et mercerie qu'on sçait estre de débit en Perse'.

pp. 342–3: (from a memoir of a traveller in Persia and Armenia)

Ils sort quantité de ces soyes hors de la Perse, et les Arméniens les portent touttes vendre du côté du nord, comme en Moscovie, Suède, Pologne et dans l'Allemaigne, où ils trouvent bien leur compte, car en tous ces pays du nord, ils sort fort curieux de la broderie sur tous leurs mouchoirs, le devant de leurs chemises, et une partie de leurs meubles.

p. 354:
Etat de marchandises de France propres pour la Perse: Draps verds et rouges, les autres couleurs ne s'y vendent point—serges—quincailleries—lames de sabre—tableaux représentans des batailles—des Portraits de Princes et Princesses de la Cour—des pendulles, orloges, montres—des verreries—des cristaux—des lustres—des émeraudes—des dentelles d'or et d'argent—des matières d'or et d'argent.

DESLANDES, p. 51:

Tout l'employ de ces gens, est le Négoce qu'ils font par tout le monde. Ils y ont fort propres à cause de leur grande patience à ne se point rebuter, et de leur santé vigoureuse qui les fait entreprendre toutes sortes de voyages, mesme dans la vieillesse fort avancée: si l'ambition ne les avoit point gastez, il y en auroit dans Julpha de fort riches.

CHARDIN, (1927 ed.) p. 249:

[the Persians chose] rather to buy Goods from Strangers, than to learn the Art of making them.

p. 280:
However, the *Mahometans* are not the greatest Traders in *Asia*, tho' they be dispers'd almost in every Part of it... Wherefore in *Turky* the *Christians* and *Jews* carry on the main foreign Trade: And in *Persia* the *Christians* and *Indian Gentiles*. As to the *Persians* they Trade with their own Countrymen, one Province with another, and most of them Trade with the *Indians*. The *Armenians* manage alone the whole European Trade...

p. 282:
The Dutch import of it [Persian silk] into *Europe*, to the Value of near six hundred thousand Livres Yearly, by the *Indian* Sea, and all the *Europeans* who trade in *Turkey*. Import nothing more valuable than the *Persian Silks*, which they buy of the *Armenians*.

FRYER, p. 263:

On which account it is, the *Armenians* being skill'd in all the Intricacies and Subtilties of Trade at home, and travelling with these into the remotest Kingdoms, become by their own Industry, and by being Factors of their own Kindreds Honesty, the Wealthiest Men, being expert at Bargains wherever they come, evading thereby Brokeridge; and studying all the Arts of Thrift, will Travel for Fifty Shillings, where we cannot for Fifty *Thomands*; setting out with a stock of Hard Eggs and a *Metarrah* of Wine, which will last them from *Spahaun* to the Port; riding on a mean Beast which they sell or ship off for Advance, their only Expence being Horse-meat; travelling with no Attendance, their Matrass serving at once for Horse-cloth and them to lye on; they are a kind of Privateers in Trade, *No Purchase, no Pay*; they enter the Theatre of Commerce by means of some Benefactor, whose Money they adventure upon, and on Return, a Quarter Part of the Gain is their own: From such Beginnings do they raise sometimes great Fortunes for themselves and Masters.

p. 268:
... they improved the Glory of *Spahaun* by their unwearied Industry, there being many of them Credible Merchants at this time, accounted worth an Hundred thousand *Thomand* (each *Thomand* being Three Pound and a Noble); so mightily do they increase under this Umbrage, in Riches and Freedom; for whilst they sit lazily at Home, their Factors abroad in all parts of the Earth return to their Hives laden with Honey; to which Exercise, after they themselves have been brought up, they train their Children under the safe Conduct of Experienced Tutors, who instruct them first to Labour for a Livelihood, before they are permitted to Expend.

See also Deslandes, p. 13; Tavernier, iv. 158—60; Tournefort, pp. 227–34.

THE KHODJAS

ARAK'EL, p. 300:
... les gens de Djoulfa, dont le chef était Khodja-Djafar, avec son frère Khodja-Nazar, pères de Mélik-Agha, de Soultanoum et de Sarfraz.

FIGUEROA, p. 286:

Entre les plus considerables Armeniens, qui estoient-là [Epiphany celebrations in 1619] se trouverent un frere et un fils de *Coge Iapher*, qui estoit le plus riche de tous les Marchands de ce Faux-bourg, lequel estant decedé depuis quelques iours, son fils luy avoit succedé en ses grands biens, et son frere en la Charge de Iuge Civil de la nouvelle *Tzulfa*, où un Persan avoit la Iurisdiction pour le criminel, et pour les choses, où le Roy pouvoit avoir interest. Et dautant que nous avons dit que *Melchisedec*, Patriarche des Armeniens, estoit absent, lors que l'on fit cette ceremonie, il ne sera pas hors de propos de dire icy, qu'il se trouvoit alors à la Cour, où il plaidoit pour la possession de la dignité Patriarchale, avec *Daud*, qui avoit esté

éleu devant luy. Et encore que le droict de Daud fust mieux fondé, parce que son election avoit esté plus Canonique que celle de *Melchisedec*, il ne laissa pas de perdre son procez, tant parce qu'il avoit voulu employer le credit du Pape et du Roy Catholique, que parce *Melchisedec*, avoit fait offrir au Roy, et à ses Ministres, une somme d'argent assez considerable, pour se faire preferer à l'autre.

Le Roy avoit accoustumé d'aller disner à la maison de *Coge Iapher*, pendant que celuy-cy estoit encore en vie, et parce qu'il s'y plaisoit il y passoit souvent plusieurs iours de suitte, y faisant venir toutes les belles femmes du Faux-bourg, filles et mariées, sans qu'on l'eust osé refuser, quoy que ce fust avec un déplaisir extréme des marys et des peres; il l'avoit fait encore l'Esté precedent, lors que l'Ambassadeur fut à Ispahan, voulant que le fils de *Coge Iapher*, qui s'appelloit comme le pere, fist venir en sa maison, qui estoit fort belle et magnifique, toutes les plus belles femmes et filles du quartier, bien qu'il y en eust plusieurs, qui furent cachèes par le soin des peres et des marys, qui ne craignoient point de s'exposer par là au dernier peril, de perde leurs biens et leur vie.

TAVERNIER, iv. 177: (his last voyage to Persia)

I arriv'd at *Ispahan* the 20th of *December*, 1664. So soon as the *Nazar* was inform'd of my arrival, he sent the *Kelonter* or chief of the *Armenians* with seven or eight more to congratulate my arrival, and to assure me of all the kind Offices he could do me. The next day he sent the same *Armenians* with four Horses; and to tell me that the King had a desire to see what I had brought; for which purpose the *Kelonter* had order to furnish me with men.

p. 159:

But the richest among them was *Cotgia*, or Monsieur *Petrus*, who left forty thousand *Tomans* in coyn'd Money, besides his Horses, Furniture, and Lands in the Country, his Jewels and Plate; all which are never reckon'd a Merchant's Estate, but only the ready Cash with which he trades. *Cotgia Petrus* was very much esteem'd for his Charity, and the great Church which he built, which is a kind of Convent, with a Bishop and Monks. Nor is the fair Market-place, all environ'd with Shops, a little beholding to his Generosity.

DE CHINON, p. 254:

Le Roi donna le Gouvernement de cette petite Republique, à Coaga Safar, Armenien; en suite à son frere qui s'appelloit Coaga Nazar, pere de celui qui les gouverne à prexent.

pp. 266–69:

Ce Coaga étant mort, son fils appellé Coaga Safras, lui succeda au Gouvernement; non pas toutefois avec un pouvoir si absolu, parce que les habitans de Iulfa, qui sont furieusement jaloux de leur liberté . . . Il a une Maison qui est sans doute, la plus belle du païs, si on en excepte celle du Roi; et la mieux emmeublée, outre cela on le croit riche de douze mille tomans, qui font entre les mains de ces facteurs pour les faire valoir . . . les grands mêmes de Perse le considerent, et ont beaucoup de respect pour lui.

THÉVENOT, ii. 111:

They yearly pay the King 500 *Tomans*, and have an *Armenian* to Govern them, whom they call *Kelonter*, that is to say the greatest, and he is put in and turned out by the King when he pleases. They address themselves to this *Kelonter* in all their Affairs, and Controversies, and it is he that Taxes them for raising the five hundred *Tomans*, which they yearly pay the King. But besides the *Kelonter* they have another Royal Officer, who is a *Deroga*, for Judging in Criminal Affairs.

DESLANDES, p. 51:

Cette ville est gouvernée par un Juge de leur Religion qu'ils font agréer au Roy.

STRUYS, iii. 322:

. . . [the Armenians] have a Gouvernour of their own, which they call *Daruga* who must bring up 200 *Tumain* yearly contribution to the King, which is taken out of their Public Stock.

DE BRUYN, p. 225:

They have their own *Kalantaer* [Kalāntar] or burgo-master, and their *Betgoedaes* [Bēt-khudā, =Kad-Khudā] or chiefs of districts, who are as judges to decide in all common causes, but those of more importance are reserved for the King or the council of state, and are afterward put into execution by the burgo-master and chiefs of the districts.

THE SHAH AND THE ARMENIANS: EPIPHANY/CHRISTMAS

FIGUEROA, pp. 282–6: (1619)

Les Armeniens celebrent le iour de la Naissance de Nostre Seigneur, selon le calcul du vieux Calendrier, sans l'intercalation des dix iours; de sorte qu'il se rencontre avec le 3. [sic] Ianvier de nostre Style. Ils ont outre cela la coustume de faire le mesme iour l'Eau-beniste; à quoy l'on employe en l'Eglise Latine le Samedy de Pasques, à Vespres, faisant par mesme moyen commemoration du Baptesme de Nostre Seigneur par S. Iean. Ce iour-là tous ceux qui font de la Nation Armenienne, tant ceux qui logent dans les Caravanseras, et qui demeurent dans les autres quartiers d'Ispahan, que ceux de la Colonie d'*Eruan*, et les Habitans du grand Faux-bourg de *Zulpha*, au delà de la riviere de *Senderut*, se rendent tous icy, comme au lieu où est le Siege du Metropolitain et le Patriarchat.

Ces Armeniens firent prier l'Ambassadeur, par les Religieux d'Ispahan, de leur faire l'honneur de se trouver à la Benediction de l'eau, à la Procession et aux autres ceremonies, où ils prierent aussi les Religieux d'estre presents. L'Ambassadeur, quoy que le froid fût excessif, et que pour se trouver à cette ceremonie, il fallust se rendre sur le lieu dés la pointe du iour, promit de s'y trouver, quelque chose qui en pust arriver: encore qu'il sçeust, que *Schach Abas*, qui est extrémement ialoux de la correspondance, que ses Subjets Chrestiens entretiennent avec les Princes de l'Europe, quoy que ce ne soit que pour le Spirituel, n'en seroit pas fort satisfait, parce qu'il croit, que cette dépendance, laquelle n'est qu'imaginaire, diminuë et affoiblit le respect el l'obeyssance, que ses Subjets luy doivent au temporel, auquel il veille incessamment. L'Ambassadeur sortit de chez luy, avec les Religieux, et avec le reste de sa famille, de fort grand matin, et trouva qu'on l'attendoit desia en cette grande plaine, qui est entre le Faux-bourg de *Zulpha* et la Riviere, qui estoit toute pleine de monde, occupant plus d'une demy-lieuë d'estenduë. Cette assemblée estoit composée, non seulement de ces Armeniens, pour qui la Feste se saisoit, mais aussi de Iacobites, Nestoriens, Georgiens et Persanes, hommes et femmes, que la devotion y avoit attirez, ou bien la curiosité de voir ce qui se saisoit en une si grande assemblée. Celuy qui officia, en l'absence de *Melchisedec*, Patriarche des Armeniens, qui estoit allé ailleurs, estoit un venerable Vieillard, Evesque du mesme Faux-bourg de *Zulpha*. Il estoit revestu d'une Chasuble de brocard, qui marquoit bien son ancienneté, et avoit le Poitrail d'or, chargé de pierreries, n'ayant sur la teste autre chose, sinon son habit de l'Ordre de S. Basile, qui est le seul Ordre de tous les Religieux par tout l'Orient. Il avoit auprés de luy plusieurs autres Evesques, avec leurs Chappes, semblables aux Chappes de Chœur en Europe, et un tres-grand nombre d'autres Prestres, revestus d'une espece de Dalmatiques, mais plus courtes que les Chappes, ayans sur la teste de petits bonnets de lames d'argent, la pluspart dorez, qui avoient au milieu de petites croix de la mesme matiere. Il y en avoit qui tenoient des encensoirs et des gondoles d'argent, pour encenser, mais la pluspart portoient des cierges allumez. Apres les Prestres suivoient plusieurs autres Ecclesiastiques, et un grand nombre d'Acolytes et de Sacristains, avec leurs Aubes, ceintes au milieu du corps, ayans sur la teste des bonnets d'argent, comme les autres Ecclesiastiques. Il y en avoit parmy ces Acolytes, qui portoient à la main deux platines d'argent, de la largeur d'une assiette, ayant des manches, et en les battant ensemble les saisoient servir de cloches. Il y en avoit d'autres qui en avoient de cuivre. Les autres portoient des croix, de la mesme façon que l'on fait en Espagne aux Processions, sinon qu'elles estoient tant soit peu plus petites, mais elles estoient toutes d'argent, et fort bien dorées, et l'on disoit, qu'il y en avoit, qui estoient d'or massif. La forme de ces croix saisoit connoistre qu'elles estoient fort anciennes, et à peu prés de la figure de celles, que l'on void en quelques vieux tableaux, où les branches et le tronc sont de la grandeur du corps, et finissent au bout de la teste et aux mains, en triangle. Il y en avoit plusieurs qui avoient deux traverses, tellement qu'elles faisoient des croix doubles, en sorte que les traverses, ou les bras de dessus estoient beaucoup plus petits que ceux de dessous, à peu prés de la façon que l'on peint les croix aux croix aux Festes de Villages, dont les femmes de Madrid faisoient tant d'estat il y a quelque temps. Il y avoit dequoy s'estonner, comment les pauvres Armeniens avoient pû sauver ces richesses, qui estoient assez considerables, puis qu'il y avoit plus de cent de ces croix, dont les moindres estoient d'argent, sans les autres Vases, de la mesme estoffe, qui n'estoient pas en petit nombre, veu qu'ils avoient esté si souvent pillez par les Perses et par les Turcs; deux Nations de plus avares et interessées, qui soient au monde. Les ceremonies de la Benediction de l'eau se firent sur le bord de la Riviere, plusieurs personnes se mettant toutes nuës dans l'eau iusqu'à l'estomach, dés la pointe du iour, et pour cet effet l'on avoit esté obligé de casser la glace en plusieurs endroits, laquelle estoit si espaisse, qu'a peine pouvoit-on découvrir l'eau, tant le froid estoit aspre et violent. Les Armeniens estiment que cette penitence est une des plus rudes, que l'on puisse faire; comme en effet elle estoit si rigoureuse, qu'il ne se peut qu'elle ne fust d'un tres-grande merite, puis qu'il sembloit, qu'il fust impossible, que celuy qui la faisoit, en pust sauver la vie. Apres qu'ils evrent employé beaucoup de temps à chanter des Pseaumes et des Hymnes, presque au mesme ton que font les Capuchins, la Procession commença à marcher vers la grand' Eglise, où Evesché, les Croix allans devant, chantans tousiours d'un mesme ton, et les Acolytes faisans beaucoup de bruit avec leurs plantines: dont la devotion des Europeens, qui consideroient en ces Ceremonies simples et grossieres, quelque rapport à l'innocence des mœurs de l'Eglise Primitive, fut fort touchée. Il y avoit un tresgrand nombre de Persans par tout, tant à la campagne et dans les ruës, qu'aux balcons et aux fenestres des maisons des Armeniens, qui

sont la pluspart fort belles, et magnifiquement basties, avec les toicts et les murailles peintes et dorées par dedans. Le *Daroga*, ou Iuge Civil et Criminel de la Ville, estoit à un de ces balcons, avec les Anglois, qui estoient estonnez de voir l'Ambassadeur assister, avec tant de devotion à cette Ceremonie, ayant en ce grand froid la teste découverte, de la mesme façon, que l'on se trouve aux Processions solemnelles en Espagne. Les femmes Armeniennes qui ne paroissent point en public, non plus que les Persannes, ou si elles sortent, elles se couvrent si bien de leurs voiles, qu'elles ne peuvent pas estres connuës, se trouvoient par bandes dans les ruës, tant filles que femmes mariées, ayant toutes le visage découvert. Les femmes mariées estoient grossierement déguisées de grosses robbes fourrées, comme les robbes ou casaques des Paysans de Castille, ayant leurs escharpes mises en forte, qu'elles leur couvroient la bouche, ayant le reste du visage découvert, comme les Paysannes de l'Estremadure en Espagne. Les filles avoient des escharpes comme les femmes mariées, qui leur prenoient pardessous le menton, en sorte qu'une partie des cheveux paroissoit, et avoient des manteaux de campagne, et des calleçons, à la mode des femmes Persannes, et Gorgiennes, mais sans aucune grace, et sans ce que l'on appelle ailleurs galand; parce que la pluspart de ces Armeniennes se negligent trop, quoy que ce soient les plus belles de toute les femmes de toute l'Asie. Apres que l'Ambassadeur eust accompagné la Procession iusqu'à l'Eglise, il se mit à regarder ce qu'il y avoit de plus remarquable . . . Apres que l'Ambassadeur eust pris congé de ces Ecclesiastiques Armeniens, et de quelques-uns des plus riches Marchands, qui s'y estoient rendus pour luy faire honneur, on luy fit present de quelques cierges benits, que ce bon Evesque disoit avoir apportez de Ierusalem. L'Ambassadeur les receut avec beaucoup de devotion, recommanda qu'ils fussent bien gardez, et fit donner une bonne aumosne aux Sacristains, qui les avoient apportez.

STRUYS, iii. 325–6: (1672)

On the 16 of February [*sic*], was the Epiphany celebrated by the *Armenian* and *Georgian* Christians. So soon as I heard what was the matter, I rose pretty early in the morning with intent to see the Solemnity of the Day. The first I met was the *Jesaulcor*, or Great Marshal with all his subordinat Officers, who were ordered to prevent Tumults, and not so suffer Horses and Camels with any Burthens to pass over the Bridges and thrô the Streets that lead to *Tzulfa* and *Tzarbag*; which was not only don for the sake of the Christians, but upon account of one of the Kings [Shah Sulaiman] legitimate Wives, whom he entirely loved, being a *Georgian* by birth and educated in the Christian Religion, and had a desire to go and see the Solemnities performed, which the King would not deny her, for that she was great with Child. About 8 in the morning were all the Christian Ladies in Balconies, which were all hung with Tapestry, and those of the greatest rank with Canopies over head. Those of meaner degree sate on each side the River *Senderut*, and had a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of an Officer, to secure them from being abused by the *Mahometans*, and to suffer no Men to crowd in upon them. About 9 assembled all those under Spiritual Orders and the Clergy belonging to the 10 Churches of *Tzulpha*, and the 2 Churches of *Ispahan*. Those were all attired in white Stoles and Capps of Cloth of Gold upon their Heads, with long Labels hanging down to their middle, but more gorgeous was the Attire of the Patriarch, being all over richly embroydered with Gold and adorned with costly Gems. Every Priest carried a Silver Cross hung with litle Silver Bells and Basons. The Crosses which were carried by those of higher degrees and in the formost Ranks were supported, each by 3 men. The Inferior Clergy followed after with lighted Tapours in their Hands, accompanied with the most eminent of the Laïty. The Superior Monks of *Ispahan* adjoyned themselves to the Patriarch, 5 of them bearing up his Pontifical Robes, 2 on each side and one behind. About one a clock came the King mounted on a stately *Arabian* Horse, without any considerable Retinu save only the Chancelor and Grand Marshal, the Guards and the rest of the Court having order to keep behind the Procession. The *Begum*, or Queen before mentioned was carried before as a privat Gentlewoman in a Sedan to a great Merchants house, accompany'd only with one Gentlewoman, the Master of the Eunuchs and 4 of his Company: for the King ever reposes great Confidence in the Christians, and esteems them as the most loyal of all his subjects, as appears by his adventuring his person among them, without any Guards. But before the Procession was ended it began to snow very hard, which did not only cause the King to leave them but put a stop to further Celebration of this great Festival, which, by the preparations, seemed to be intended to be solemnized with very great Pomp: for besides the Contribution of all the Christians, who, as I have elsewhere noted, are very rich, the King sends the Patriarch a considerable Sum of Money som time before, in order to the carrying on and maintaining this anniversary Custom. The Patriarch and Superior Clergy seeing there was no hopes of the Weather growing better, they departed without performing the ritual Ceremonies: but the Laïty continued Dancing and Singing all the Night long.

See also Della Valle, iii. 100–13 (*supra* p. 6); Tavernier, iv. 172; Thévenot, ii. 111; Tournefort, p. 257; De Bruyn, i. 185–6.

FOREIGNERS IN JULFA

OLEARIUS, v. 205: (1637)

Seferas-beg receiv'd the Ambassadors [of the Duke of Holstein] at the entrance of the Church, in the Suburbs called *Tzulfa*, where he had the service said by the Patriarch of the place, who had about him a Cope of Cloath of Silver, with flowers of Gold, beset with great Pearls, and a Mitre of the same Stuff, cover'd all over with round Pearls. The Body of the Church was adorn'd with several large Pictures, the floor was cover'd with the Tapistry of the Country, and they had placed benches all along the walls for our more convenient sitting. They had also a kind of wretched Musick. Having done our Devotions, we got on horse-back again to goe to the place where the entertainment was prepared for us. *Seferas-beg*, having receiv'd the Ambassadors with much respect, and done his civilities to the chiefest of the Retinue, conducted them, through a spacious arched Gallery, into a great Garden, at the end whereof we found an open hall, according to the fashion of the Country, where we were entreated to sit down on the ground. The Cloath, which was of Gold and Silver Brocado, was cover'd with all sorts of Fruits and Conserves, and we drank of a certain prepar'd water, much like *Ros Solis*, but incomparably more delicate, and more precious. Having taken away the Fruits, they laid an *Indian* Cotton cloath, and the Meat was brought up, in silver Dishes. It was excellently well dress'd, according to the *Persian* way of dressing, with this difference only, that at this entertainment there was brought in Pork, and some other sorts of flesh, for which the *Persians* have an aversion. We had hardly eaten so much as allay'd our first hunger, ere we were forc'd to rise from the Table, to be conducted through a very noble apartment, into another hall, which look'd into the Garden. It was arched all about, and there were on the Walls certain Pictures representing the Women of most Nations in the World, dress'd according to the mode of their several Countries. The floor was cover'd with rich Tapistry, on which were laid Cushions of flower'd Satin, the ground-work thereof Gold and Silver. In the midst of the hall, there was a Fountain, the Basin whereof was of white Marble; the water was cover'd with Flowers; and it was beset all about with Flaggons, and Bottles of Wine.

We were invited to sit down, and to eat of the Fruit and Conserves, which were brought in, during which we had the Divertisement of Musick and Dancing. And as a further honour to us, the Patriarch was sent for, who came in immediately, having about him a Cassock of water'd Chamlet of a Violet Colour, and attended by two Priests clad in black, with Caps on their Heads. He was no ill Company, but the second of the two Brethren, whose name was *Elias-beg*, made the best sport of any in the company. For, to heighten the Divertisement of the Ambassadors, he would needs play on the *Tamera*, which is an Instrument used by the *Persians* instead of the Lute: and then he call'd for seven Porcelane Cups, full of water, and striking them with two little sticks, he accorded them with the Lute. While we were hearking to this Musick, *Seferas-beg* told us, that he would give us a kind of Musick, which should be as delightful as the other; and thereupon rising up, he ordered to be brought him, by two Pages, in two great wooden Dishes, several Chrystal Glasses, which he distributed among the Company, to whom he began the King of *Persia*'s health. The whole day was spent in these divertisements, till that the Ambassadors perceiving night approach, took leave of their Hosts; but these, pretending to conduct us out of the house, brought us to the other side of the Garden, into a Gallery, where we found the Cloath laid, and cover'd with all sorts of Meat, Flesh, Fish, Pies, Fruits and Conserves, for the Collation. We sat down again, but it was only out of compliance, for it is not to be imagin'd we could have eaten ought. Nor indeed can I believe, that he by whom we were entertain'd had any other design therein than to shew his Magnificence, and the Gallantry and Freedome of his Nature, especially in his Conversion of the darkest Night to bright Day. The Hall was all full of Lamps, which hung by a string fasten'd to the Roof, there being so great a number of them, and those so near one the other, that their lights were so confounded, as that they made but one. There was also in the Garden, a great number of Torches and Candles, which wrought the same effect there.

Having, with much ado and many Complements, taken our leave, we could not by any means put off the second Brother out of a humour had taken him to accompany us to our Lodgings, where he made a shift to get perfectly drunk, with *Aquavitae* and *Ros Solis*. And thus we concluded that day, which I confess was one of the most pleasant we had had in all our Travels, having been better treated, than we had been by the King himself.

TAVERNIER, iv. 160:

There are in *Ispahan Austin*-Friars, *Carmelites*, and *Capuchins*, and in *Zulpha Jesuits*. The *Jesuits* that came last have but a little House, but to make them amends they have a large Garden. Though the number of Religious Teachers is far greater than the number of Hearers: for in all *Ispahan* and *Zulpha*, take the *Franks* that come out of *Europe*, or born in *Persia*, as well Men as Women, there are not six hundred persons that profess the Catholick Religion. As for the *Armenians*, they are so obstinately fix'd to their own Religion, that they will hear of no other; and nothing but Money has sometimes caus'd them to feign the embracing of another.

DESLANDES, p. 22:

Les Chrestiens du Païs ont leur ville à part nommée Julpha, que nous verrons apres. Ce qu'il y a d'Europeans sont, les Capuchins François qui ont un assez beau Convent, les Augustins Portugais qui y demeurent depuis 70 ans, et sont bien mieux logez, et les Carmes Italiens qui y sont fort bien aussi.

La Compagnie d'Hollande et celle d'Angleterre y ont leurs maisons forts belles et fort amples. Nos autres François demeurent à Julpha avec les Armeniens; et pour les allez voir, on passe par les plus beaux endroits de la ville.

STRUYS, iii. 322:

In *Ispahan*... there are also two fair Christian Monasteries, the one for the *Carmelites* and the other for *Augustin* Monks.

FRYER, pp. 262–3:

These [Capuchins] walk humbly about the streets and markets, discalceated, and in their distinct Habits, none of them mounting an Horse, only the Superior of the *Dominicans*, who being Resident for the *Portugals*, bears a Port suitable to that Character, and lives in a Splendid Palace, with Noble Walks and Gardens: Therein is a Magnificent Chappel, beautified with good Painting, Sculpture and Rich Ornaments.

p. 285:

At *Jelfa* is a College of the Jesuits.

DE BRUYN, i. 232–3:

The Carmelites also have a fine convent there [in Isfahan], and a large garden; but there is now only one of them, who is, by nation, a *Pole*. There are however two others, either *French* or *Danish*, who came from *Italy*, and live in a little house they have in *Julfa*; where four jesuits have built them a pretty chapel after the Italian manner, by the side of which they have a very fine house with a beautiful well-kept garden. Beside these there are three *Dominicans*, who have lately built them a new chapel.

There are several other *Europeans* at *Julfa*, most of them *French*, and three of *Geneva*, one of whom is a goldsmith, and the others are watchmakers; their names are *Siorde*, *de Finot* and *Batar*, and two physicians, the one a *Frenchman* called *Hermet*, and a *Greek* born at *Smyrna*. They are all of them, except *Finot*, married to *Armenians* of low birth, so that they have much ado to live, for there is no business here for strangers, as has already been observed. Moreover, the *Persians* have able physicians and tolerable mathematicians among themselves; but they know nothing of surgery, nor make any account of foreign surgeons. Nor indeed have they any great regard for those in the service of the King, whose allowances are paid them in bills upon other cities, which they are obliged sometimes to discount at a third, and sometimes at an half loss.

For the rest, it is impossible to expect an advantageous match with any woman here, seeing there is hardly one example of an *European* married into a rich or a considerable family. Nor are they sooner married than they conform to the customs and manners of their wives, whom they shew to none of their countrymen; but to say the truth of the matter, this change is chiefly seen among the *French*; for the *English* and *Dutch* adhere to the practises of their fathers. A signal example of this in Mr. *Kastlelein* our director, whose wife, a Lady of birth and merit, was esteemed by every body, and regretted by all. She appeared always, with her daughter of ten years old, at her husband's table, which was open to all the *Europeans*; but whenever he went to visit those in *Julfa*, their wives were not to be seen. And upon the whole they retain nothing of their country but the language.

HEDGES, p. 210 (11 September 1685):

I went to see Julfa, where all Armenians live ... in this towne (for more conveniency) I tooke a house for 3 months, and Warehouses for my goods, in ye Queen mother's Caravansarai, called Gidda.

(15 September):

This morning I removed, for better conveniency and management of my business, from ye Company's Factory in Spahan to ye house I had taken in Julfa, but left my goods at Gidda Caravansarai in Spahan, except 86 Bales of Sugar, which were brought hither.

ARMENIAN LANGUAGE AND INTERPRETERS

TAVERNIER, iv. 159–60:

The Language of the *Armenians* is either vulgar or learned: the learned is only us'd by the Ecclesiasticks, in reference to their Religion. They write like us, from the left to the right, having found out peculiar Characters about four [sic] years since. They have three Languages very natural to them, which however are very different: the *Armenian*, which is their ancient Country-speech, which they have preserv'd from Father to Son; the *Persian*, which is the Language of the Country where they live; and the *Turkish* of which they make very much use in course of Trade. As for their Women, they speak nothing but the *Armenian*, as having no converse with strangers, and never stirring out of their houses. There are some *Armenians* speak *Italian* and *French*, as having learnt it in *Europe*... Friar *Ambrose* a *Capuchin* staid a while at *Zulpha*, to whom several of the principal *Armenians* came to School to learn *French*, in hopes of establishing a Trade with *France*. But the *Armenian* Archbishop and Bishops fearing lest the Children should be infected with some other Religion, excommunicated all Fathers that sent their Children to School. And finding that they little regarded the Excommunication, they shut up the Church doors, and stir'd up the People against the Religious *Franks*; so that Father *Ambrose* was forc'd to leave *Persia*, and retire to *Surat*.

DESLANDES, p. 50:

Les Armeniens de Iulpha on cet avantage qu'ils parlent trois Langues naturellement, et pourtant fort differentes, la Persiene... la Turque... et l'Armeniene.... Il y en a plusieurs outre cela qui parle Italien, et mesme François, sur tout les petits garçons qui le vont apprendre chez les Reverends Peres Iesuites, qui ont là une fort jolie maison.

FRYER, p. 269:

They [the Armenians] have sumptuous Houses, Enriched either by being Merchants, or Interpreters to Foreign Ministers, they being addicted to Learn Languages; few care for Manual Arts, or Mechanick Trades, though some apply themselves to Husbandry.

ARMENIAN DRESS

FIGUEROA, p. 201:

L'habit des hommes et des femmes d'*Ispahan* est le mesme que celuy des Habitans de *Schiras*, dont nous avons desia parlé. Il est vray, qu'il y a quelque peu de difference, pour ce qui est de l'habit des femmes Chrestiennes; car la pluspart des femmes Armeniennes ne portent point de voile blanc, comme les femmes Persanes, mais une certaine estoffe noire ou brune, qui leur descend iusqu'aux genoux, et elles sont coëffées à peu pres comme les Paysanes d'Espagne; sinon qu'elles portes toutes des caleçons, comme les autres femmes du Pays, tant Persanes qu'Arabes.

TAVERNIER, iv. 159:

Their wives also are very richly habited, in strip'd Sattins pursl'd with Gold, and other rich *Europæan* Silks.

v. 238:

The *Armenian* Women wear... a little Justicoar without sleeves, and upon their heads a fine Linnen-Coif, ty'd under their chins. Their hair is gather'd into a long tress to which they sometimes add more, which is false to make a long lock that is done up in a Velvet or Satin-Case embroider'd and hangs down to the wast.

DESLANDES, p. 50:

Leur liberté est grande dans toute la Perse; ils se peuvent habiller à leur fantaisie, ce qu'ils ne peuvent faire en Turquie, où les étoffes de prix et la couleur vert leur est deffenduë.

CHARDIN, (1927 ed.) p. 213:

It is only since the *Persians* traded with the *Europeans*, as well by the Means of their *Armenian* Subjects, as of the *European* Companies, that they have worn *Cloth-Stockins* in Persia. No body wore them before that time; and the King himself covered his Legs, as the Soldiers, Carriers, Footmen, Country-people, and abundance of the common people do to this very Day, by wrapping a coarse *Linnen Cloth* round their Legs, about six Fingers wide, and about three or four Ells long, just as if they were swadling a Child.

DE BRUYN, i. 227:

The dress of the *Armenians* differs but little from that of the *Persians*, except that they are not so neat, nor are their turbants so nicely folded: beside that, they are not allowed to wear them of the *Persian* mode any more than green slippers.

As for the better sort of the *Armenian* women, they, like the *Persian* women, wear a half band upon the fore-head, adorned with precious stones and pearls. Under this band they have a golden *Chambara*, adorned in the same manner, and two fingers broad, and down the cheeks they have a score of golden ducats, and other ornaments, enriched with pearl, which comes underneath the chin, and the lower part of their face, quite to the nose, is covered with a veil, fastened behind the head. Beside this, they wear another veil about the neck, the ends of which are embroidered with gold and silver, and this is also fastened behind the head, and these two veils are never taken off. They have a third embroidered, which covers their neck, and goes over the two others; this also is fastened upon the head and falls down to the bottom of their upper garment, which is commonly of gold brocade, and lined with sables. The garment they wear under this is of a flowered stuff, and they have a third, which does not fall below the knee. Their shift is of embroidered taffeta, or some other rich stuff, and a little shorter than their upper garment. Under this they wear drawers of a fine striped satin, buskins or boots after the *Persian* mode, and slippers either yellow or red, for green they are no more allowed to wear than the men. The girdle is made of thin plates of gold or silver chased, and is four or five fingers broad, and under this they have a silken one with a buckle; for the rest some of them set them with precious stones. They have commonly two or three gold chains about the neck, by one of which hang small boxes of perfumes, and ducats by the rest. These chains they wear with the addition of a coral necklace, to every third bead of which they hang either a single or a double ducat. They wear also golden bracelets, and have their fingers laden with rings. Instead of the furred gown, they, in summer, wear another garment, shorter and without sleeves, which does not fall down below the knee.

The maids dress nearly after the manner of the married women, excepting with regard to the head, as likewise the veil which covers a part of the face, and the other which covers the neck and breast; so that they wear none but that which the women have about the neck. For the rest, they wear a band, or rather a diadem, upon the forehead, embroidered with gold and silver and inriched with pearls. In short, when the *Armenian* women appear abroad, they differ in nothing from the *Persian*, except that they are obliged to cover their faces, with their cloaths which they hold in the right-hand, to prevent their being seen.

THE CHURCHES

P. DELLA VALLE, iii. 102:

. . . [les Prestres] qui s'estoient assemblez pour cette august ceremonie [Epiphanie] de douze Eglises voisines, à sçavoir dix de Ciolfa, qui sont dans cette ville, à present qu'elle est grandement augmentée, et deux de Hisphahan . . .

FIGUEROA, pp. 285–6:

Apres que l'Ambassadeur eust accompagné la Procession [Epiphanie; 1619] iusqu'a l'Eglise, il se mit à regarder ce qu'il y avoit de plus remarquable. Le bastiment estoit grand, et fort beau, ayant au milieu un dôme, comme l'on voit à nos Eglises, au moins en celles que l'on bastit depuis quelque temps. La peinture des tableaux, que l'on voyoit sur les Autels, estoit d'autant plus remarquable, que l'on y voyoit à l'œil une antiquité de plusieurs siecles. Car encore qu'il n'y eust alors que dix ou douze ans, que cette nouvelle Colonie de *Zulpha* eust esté fondée, l'on voyoit bien neantmoins que les Ornements de leurs Eglises estoient fort anciens. Ces Chrestiens, en sortant de l'Armenie, emporterent avec eux tout ce qu'il y avoit d'Ornements, et entr'autres une grande quantite de lampes, la pluspart d'argent, ainsi que l'on pouvoit voir en cette Eglise, et iuger par ce qu'il y en avoit, à ce que l'on disoit, dans les autres.

TAVERNIER, iv. 160:

There are in *Zulpha* fifteen or sixteen Churches and Chappels of the *Armenians*, among which you count two Nunneries for Women.

p. 169:

Since the *Armenians* Traded into Europe and began to be Travellers, their Churches are better set out than they were heretofore. They spare no cost to adorn the Chair and the Altar; you tread upon rich Carpets, and for the Structure and embellishments of it the best Workmen and the choicest Materials they can meet with.

OLEARIUS, p. 205:

The Body of the Church was adorn'd with several large Pictures, the floor was cover'd with the Tapistry of the Country, and they had placed benches all along the walls for our more convenient sitting.

DU MANS, p. 183:

L'on a veu un *Coage* qui a faict bastir la plus grande église à ses depens proche du *Maidon* [i.e. the *Maidan* in Julfa; see Figure 3].

DE CHINON, p. 242:

Leurs Eglises sont ornées tres-proprement; et ils affectent d'y avoir quantité de lampes et de luminaires.

DESLANDES, p. 48:

Ils ont plus de vingt Eglises tres-bien basties en dômes, le dedans en est propre et orné de tableaux de devotion que leurs Marchands apportent d'Europe. Il n'y à qu'un Autel, et qu'une Messe par jour, et à moins de quelque Feste elle ne se dit que le Dimanche, du reste leur Office est tres long, et leur chant fort extraordinaire. Comme ils n'ont point de cloches, ils se servent d'une planche de bois, sur laquelle ils frapent fort, pour avertir les Chrestiens de venir à leurs prieres, où ils sont assez assidus.

STRUYS, iii. 325, mentions '10 Churches of *Tzulpha*, and the 2 Churches of *Ispahan*'.

DE CHINON, p. 260:

On dit que lorsqu'ils vouloient bâtir quelque Eglise à Iulfa, le Roi leur envoyoit ses tambours et ses trompettes, afin d'encourager les Ouvriers, qu'on ne manquoit pas de faire boire à la santé du Roi, aussi bien les Persans que les autres.

CHARDIN, (1927 ed.) pp. 69–70:

The principal Merchants of Julfa laid hold of this Occasion to make pressing Instances to their Patriarch, that he would labour in the Reformation of the Clergy, and more especially restraining the loose Manners and dissolute Life of the Nuns, whose enormous Irregularities were becoming notoriously Publick and Scandalous, for they were not contented to Prostitute themselves, but made it their Business to corrupt others, and to carry on the most infamous Intrigues. The Disorder was found to be too General, and too deeply Rooted, to admit of a Remedy; for which Reason, the Nuns were sent home to their Parents, and the Monastery was secularis'd. It had been founded sixty Years. The Carms assur'd me that they had drawn the Plan thereof, and regulated its Constitutions.

FRYER, pp. 269–70:

Established thus [in Julfa] by the King's Favour, they cannot but be excited as a grateful return to the Disposer of the Hearts of Kings, and the Giver of all things, to pay a Tribute of their Increase in Building and Adorning stately Churches to that God who is King of kings, and Lord of lords; bestowing largely both towards their Beautifying in every kind, as being sufficiently stored with the best Patterns, as well as precious Substance, by their constant Travelling and rich Adventures, as also towards a plentiful Allowance.

By whole Munificence and Charge, besides Colleges and Convents for Monasticks, are Thirteen Parish Churches, and a Cathedral, whose Description shall serve for all: The Majesty of the Mother-Church at *Jelfa*, rises not to that Loftiness, either to Offend the Eyes with its Splendor, or to create a Jealousy, from its prodigious Structure, of another Tower of *Babel*; but keeps the mean, as truly becomes the place separated for the Service of the only True God; not so spacious as neat, leaning on Four Pillars, which bear an Oval Lanthorn, or Crown, over the Center of the Dome, by which the chief Lights are transmitted to the rest of the Building, and by them the Temple divided into four parts; the first whereof is almost all taken up by the High Altar, Garnished with the Images of the Blessed Mother and the Holy Child Jesus, unless a small Ascent left for the Singers, the Bishops Chair, and for Persons of Quality among them; the Side-Wings and the Middle half way down the Nave, being left for the Men; all the rest is Occupied by the Women, even to the very Folding Doors of the Temple; the Roof or Vault of the Arches, the Side-Walls and Posts of the Cathedral, are all Painted with Sacred Histories; and had it not been for fear of the *Moors*, after the Decease of their Patron *Shaw Abas*, who envied them so Magnificent a Pile, they would have known no measure to the desire of enlarging, nor could have ever thought it venust enough, while they abounded with Pious Benefactors; but to this Enterprize there wanted no Obstructions, even in their own Bowels.

p. 285:

Besides these Christians in *Jelfa*, *St. Rhipsima* has her Devotes who live in a Nunnery, and vow Virginity all their Life; they are about Forty, and profess Poverty for Christ's sake, having nothing but what they get by begging; they go in Black Hoods over a Blue Vest.

DE BRUYN, i. 186:

(The monastery adjoining the Church of *Annabaet* [Anapet, 'hermitage church'].) The refectory may be called long, and is provided with a pulpit, in which they read some chapters during the time of dinner: the chapel is painted from top to bottom, with representations of sacred stories, but without any art.

p. 226:

The principal buildings of *Julfa* are the churches, the chief of which is that of *Anna-baet* or *of the bishop*, concerning which, we shall declare ourselves when we are to speak of the baptism of the cross. The second, which has a fine dome, is that of *Surpa-kroop* [for Surp-Akoop = Surb Yakob] or of St. *James*, full of paintings, representing sacred stories, like that of the bishop; it has some vacant places on the right-hand, and the women are there divided from the men. The third, which is the largest, is that of *Surpontomasa* [Surbn Thorma], or of St. *Thomas*. It is long, and, on each side, supported by three square columns. This church has no paintings, and all the walls of it are white; the dome of it is very low, and you go up to the altar by three steps on each side. Beside these churches, there are eleven or twelve smaller, and less adorned. There are also thirteen or fourteen in the new *Julfa* but they are small, and not at all remarkable.

TOURNEFORT, iii. 252:

Their Churches are made very neat, since they have seen ours: There is in each Church but one

Altar, plac'd at the bottom of the Nave of the Church in the Sanctuary, to which they mount by five or six Steps. They are at considerable Charge to adorn this Place. No secular Person is permitted to enter it, of what Quality soever he may be. One may see by the Richness of this Place, that the *Armenians* handle more Crowns than the *Greeks* do Doubles.

ARMENIAN HOUSES

FIGUEROA, p. 285 (at Epiphany celebrations, 1619):

Il y avoit un tres-grand nombre de Persans par tout, tant à la campagne et dans les ruës, qu'aux balcons et aux fenestres des maisons des Armeniens, qui sont la pluspart fort belles, et magnifiquement basties, avec les toicts et les murailles peintes et dorées par dedans.

DE BRUYN, i. 226–7:

The principal *Armenians* have some tolerably fine houses in the old *Julfa*. The chief of them is that of *Hodshe-minozes*, whose great hall is all gilt, and painted with flowers and other ornaments, and has several looking glasses. The cieling of it is vaulted, and divided into four compartments, in the middle of each of which is a golden star, intermixed with some colours, and the walls of it are crusted with marble to the height of two or three foot. At the two ends of this hall there are niches full of festoons and foliages interwoven, of unspeakable beauty. Through the front-gate, which leads to these houses, you come into a court, in the middle of which there is a fine round parterre, and a court in the same form behind the house, with a building apart for the women, after the manner of the country.

When I had examined into what was curious and remarkable in this house, the master of which entertained me very splendidly, I went to see that of the burgo-master *Hogaes* or *Lucas*, which I found to be as large as the former, but not so gaudy. From this, I went to that of *Arjiet-Aga*, before which there was a great garden; it is also very large and full of fine apartments. That of *Hodshe-Saffraes* has also a large garden, and all the walls of the house are painted and full of figures as big as the life. Among others there is a *Turkish* man and a *Turkish* woman, and several other figures dressed after the *Persian* and *Spanish* manner, at some distance the one from the other. Upon the top of this house there is a fine terrass, whence you have the most inchanting prospect in the world, in which King *Abbas* took a singular pleasure in his time. The house of *Hodshe-Agamaet* is one of the loftiest and best adorned; it has a beautiful apartment next to the street, with fine large windows, and the terrace of it is charming. The houses of *Hodshe-Ovannis*, of *Hodshe-Mursa*, and of several others yield in nothing to these. Some of them have a elegant marble fountain with a waterfall in the finest apartment, or at the entrance without.

All these houses are extremely neat and well kept; the rooms of them are covered with fine carpets and full of cushions of gold and silver brocade. The front-gate of most of these houses is very small, partly to prevent the *Persians* from riding in on horseback, and partly to avoid any shew of the magnificence within. The chief streets are adorned with fine sena's, planted on each side.

See also Olearius, p. 205 (above, p. 81).

FOOD AND WINE

TAVERNIER, v. 243:

The *Armenians* entertain their friends in the same manner [as the Persians]; only that they begin their Feasts with a cup of strong water, and some sweet-meats, after which they give a couple of hard Eggs to every one of the guests. The *Persians* also have soon done, but the *Armenians* eat swift, and a long time without drinking, which they never do till the end of the meal. After they have given thanks and taken away the cloth, then they fall to drinking to excess. He that gives the entertainment never thinks he has done well, till his guests are not able to find the way out of the room, and the more they tumble about the room, the less he thinks he has spent his money in vain.

CHARDIN, (1927 ed.) pp. 172–4:

The *Armenians*, who inhabit the Country of Ispahan, bring [a small wild-boar like a pig] in Winter to sell to the Christians; the Skin of them is black and rough, like that of the Boar; the Flesh is red, lean, and dry, not so well tasted as the Pigs or the Boars flesh.

p. 177:

And the *Armenians* have Capons which grow so big and so fat, that they must be killed for their Fat. (Chardin relates that 'about 30 years ago' the Armenians brought turkeys from Constantinople to Isfahan, but only a few survived.)

p. 224:

The *Eastern Christians*, dispers'd among the *Turks* and *Persians*, don't live altogether as they do, they being for the most Part lovers of wild Foul, Fish, Ragousts, and black Meats, whether it proceeds from the Wine and strong Waters which they drink often to Excess, whether from the severe and frequent Fasts, which they keep out of Custom, makes 'em greedy and Gluttons; or whether they get their daintiness in *Europe*, where they make long stays, by the use of our Ragousts, and other Table Dishes.

p. 237:
The *Armenians* have a way of roasting the Mutton and Lamb in their own skin upon the Coals, as they do Chest-Nuts. When the Mutton is dress'd, they put the Skin again upon it, and so it up well, and then they put it on the Coals and cover it: the Mutton is all night a doing, and it is not over and above good when it is done.

p. 243:
The *Armenians*, in immitation of the *Franks*, mix it with large Grapes, and make a very good Wine of it, which bears mixing with Water, very well.

ARMENIAN CUSTOMS AND CHARACTER

TAVERNIER, iv. 170:
[beside Easter] they have four other Feasts in the year, wherein they observe the same Ceremony, eating neither Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Butter, nor Oyl for eight days: which four Feasts are *Christmas*, the *Ascention*, the *Annunciation*, and *St. George's*. Before this last Feast they stretch their devotion to the utmost, for some will fast three days, some five, one after another . . . There was an *Armenian* of *Zulpha* whose superstition was so great, that he made his Horse to fast with him, allowing him but very little to eat or drink for a whole week together.

p. 173:
[marriage] The Man goes to Bed first, the Woman pulling off the Man's Breeches, though she does not lay aside her Veil 'till the Candle be put out. Let it be what time in the year it will, the Woman rises before day. So that there may be some *Armenians* that in ten years after they are marry'd never saw their Wives faces, nor even heard them speak. For though her Husband may speak to her, and all the rest of her kindred, yet she never answers but with a Nod. The Women never eat with their Husbands; but if the Men feast their Frinds to day the Women feast theirs the next day.

DU MANS, p. 45:
Pour leurs habits, ils sont d'estoffes plus fines et plus riches que celles des femmes Mores, car leur maris apportent d'Occident ce qu'ils peuvent de beau pour couvirir ces fumiers. Avec tout cela, vous diriez de sacs et poches bastées sur ces tonnes mouvantes; —leurs mamelles grosses et pendantes en devant font paroistre comme trois corps, de sorte qu'un François qui passa par icy, il y a quelques quatorze ou quinze ans, voyant ces grosses tripières, avoit raison de demander si c'estoient des femmes comme en Occident.

CHARDIN, (1927 ed.)p. 232:
In effect, the Complexion of the *Persians* is even; they have a fine beautiful and smooth Skin; whereas the Complexion of the *Armenians*, their Subjects, especially the Women, is rugged and full of Pimples, and their Bodies large, and excessive heavy. One might likewise attribute the Difference of the good Plight, between the *Persians* and the *Armenians*, to the unequality of the *Armenian's* Diet, who Fast for thirty or forty Days together, during which Time, they eat nothing but Herbs and Oil; and then for so long a time, eat excessively of Eggs and Flesh: whereas the *Persians* have but one Fast of thirty Days, during which time still they never change their Meats, but only eat less; and that during the rest of the Year, they live every day after an even Manner.

p. 216:
The *Armenians*, contrary to the *Mahometans*, have even at home, their Faces vail'd down to their Nose, if they are Marry'd. This is that their nearest Relations, nor their Priests, who have the Liberty to Visit them, may only see part of their Face: But their Daughters don't wear this Vail but just to their Mouth, for the quite Contrary Reason, which is, that they may see enough to make a Judgement of their Beauty, and make a Report of it. The Custom of these Vails for the Women is the most ancient of anything which their Histories speak of. But it is difficult to know, whether it was Pride, Vain-glory, or Modesty, which induc'd them to wear 'em first; or whether it was the Jealousy of their Husbands. Neither the Women nor Men wear Gloves; they don't know what it is to put on Gloves in the *East*.

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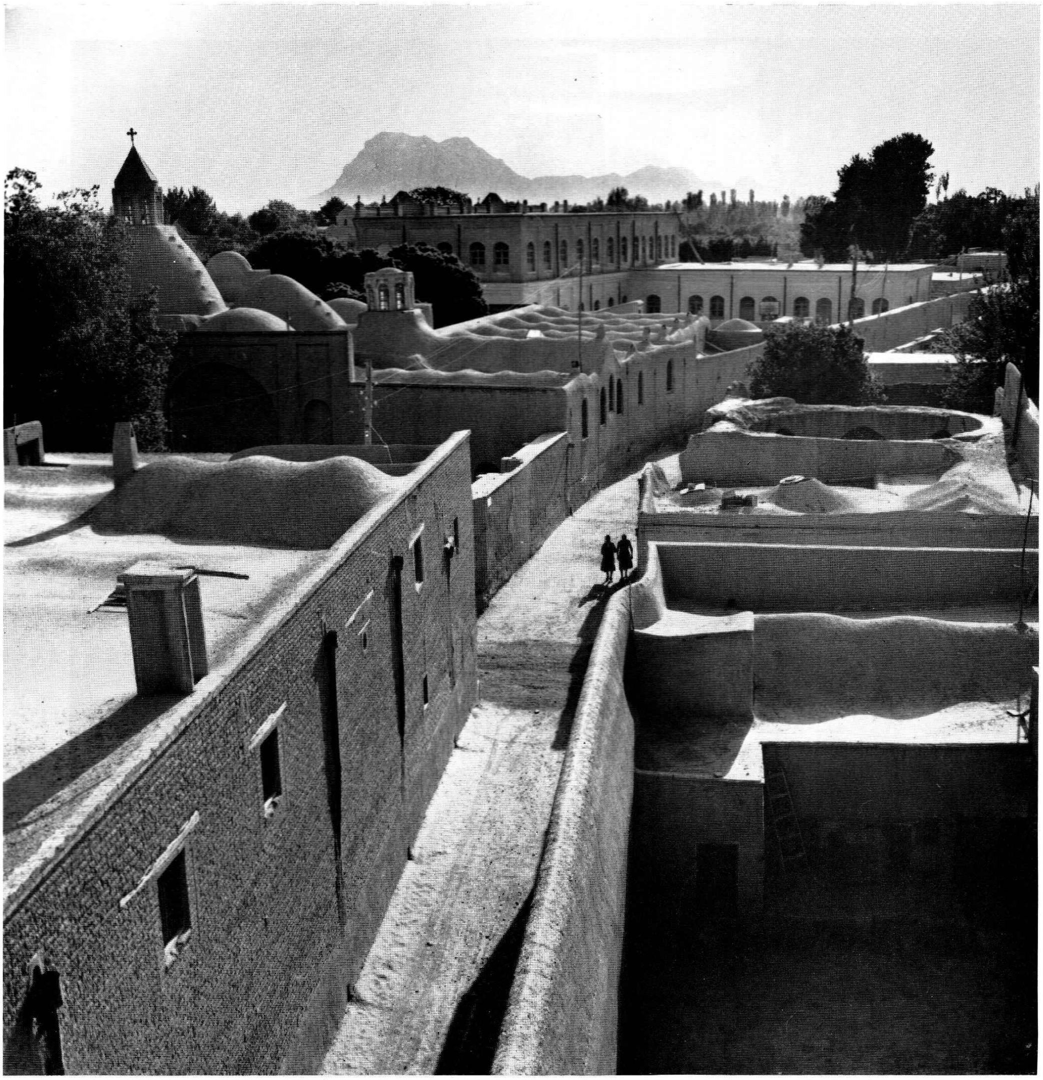
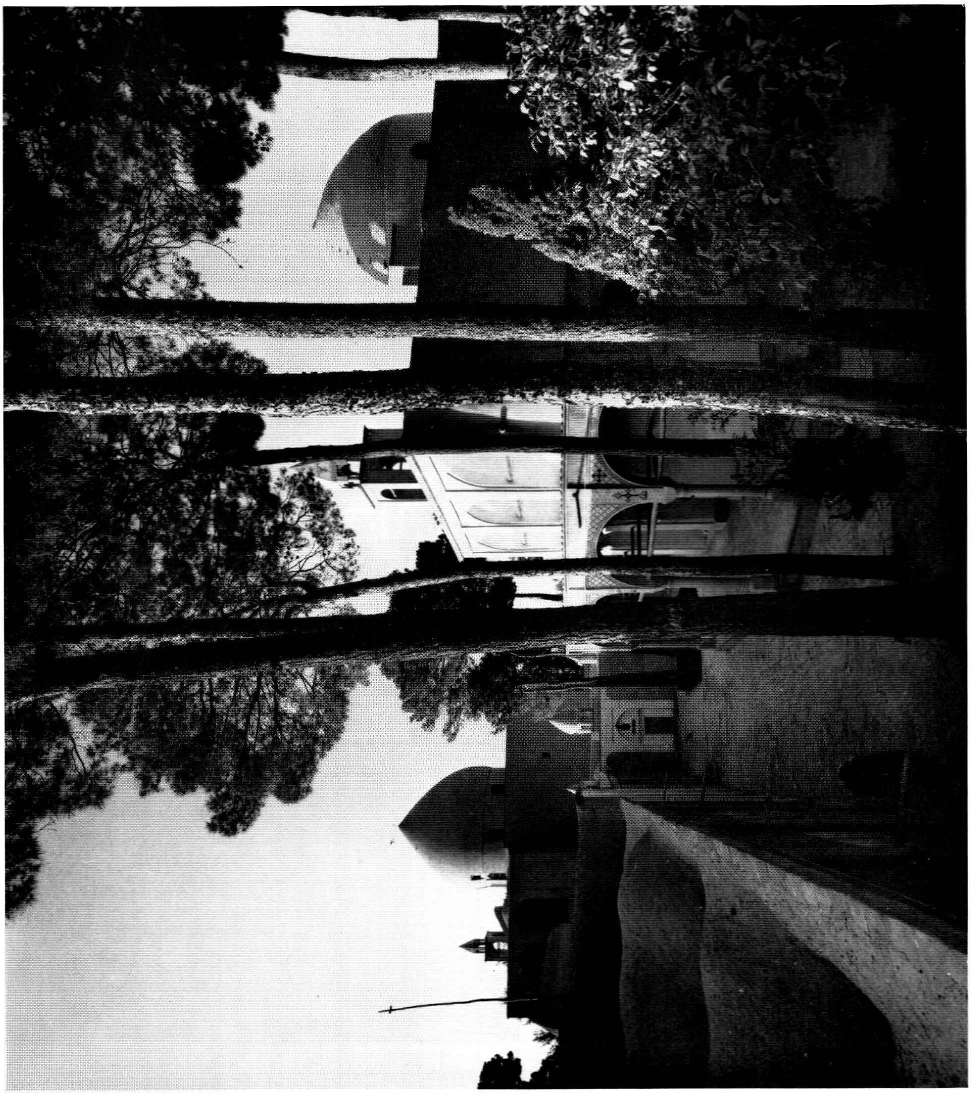
THE PLATES



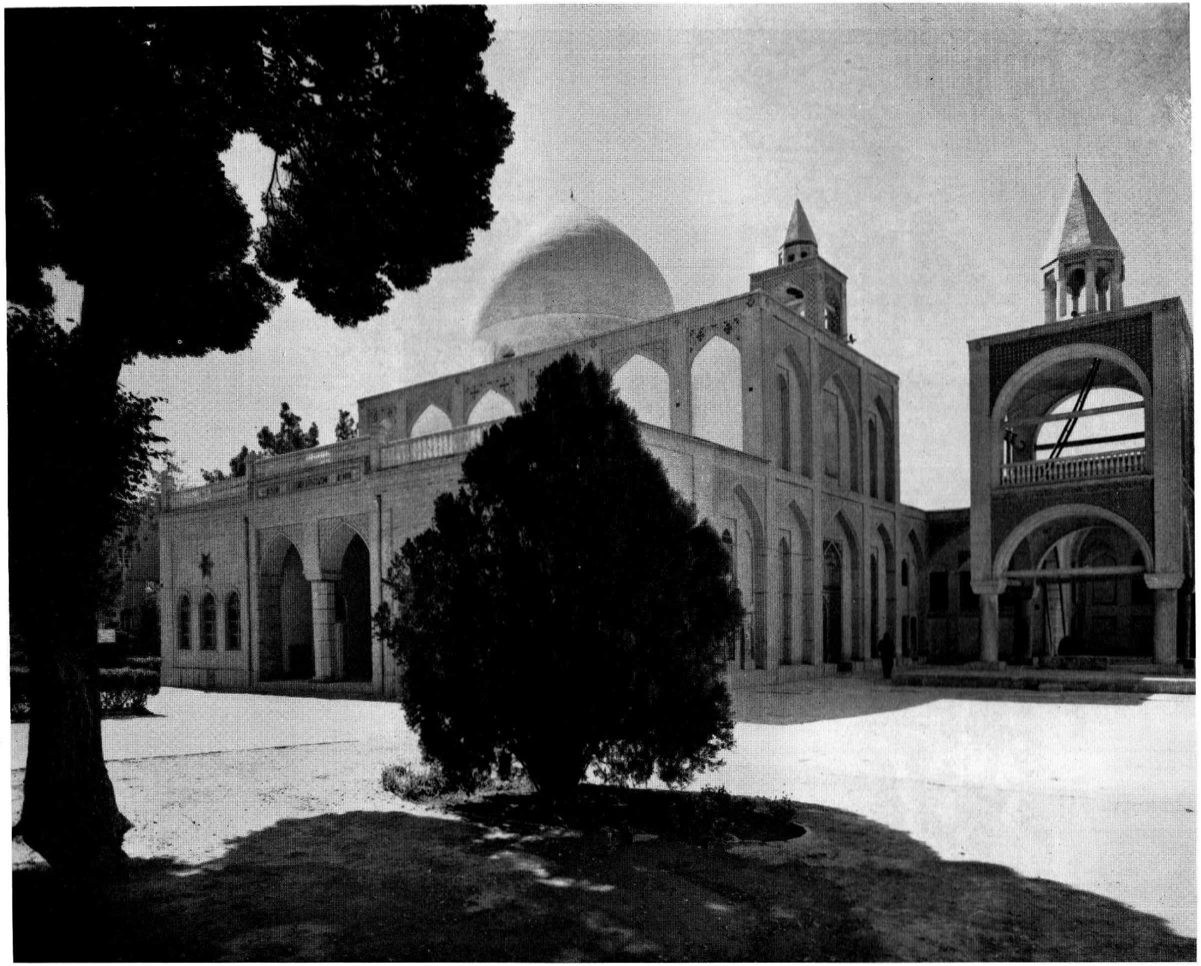
GENERAL VIEW OF JULFA looking west

PLATE 2



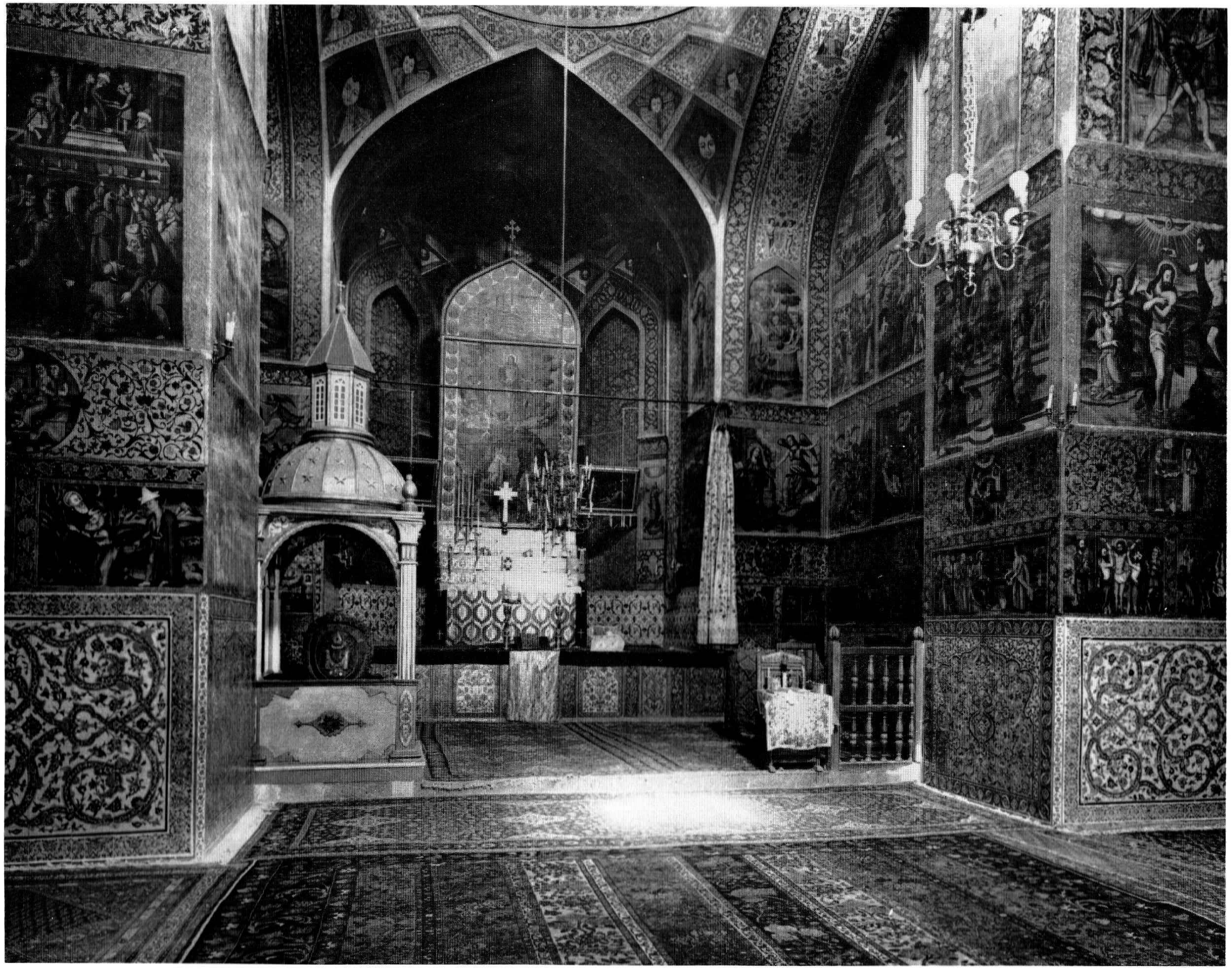
The courtyard of the CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD (right); at the far end the CHURCH OF ST. JAMES with the BETHLEHEM CHURCH beyond

PLATE 3

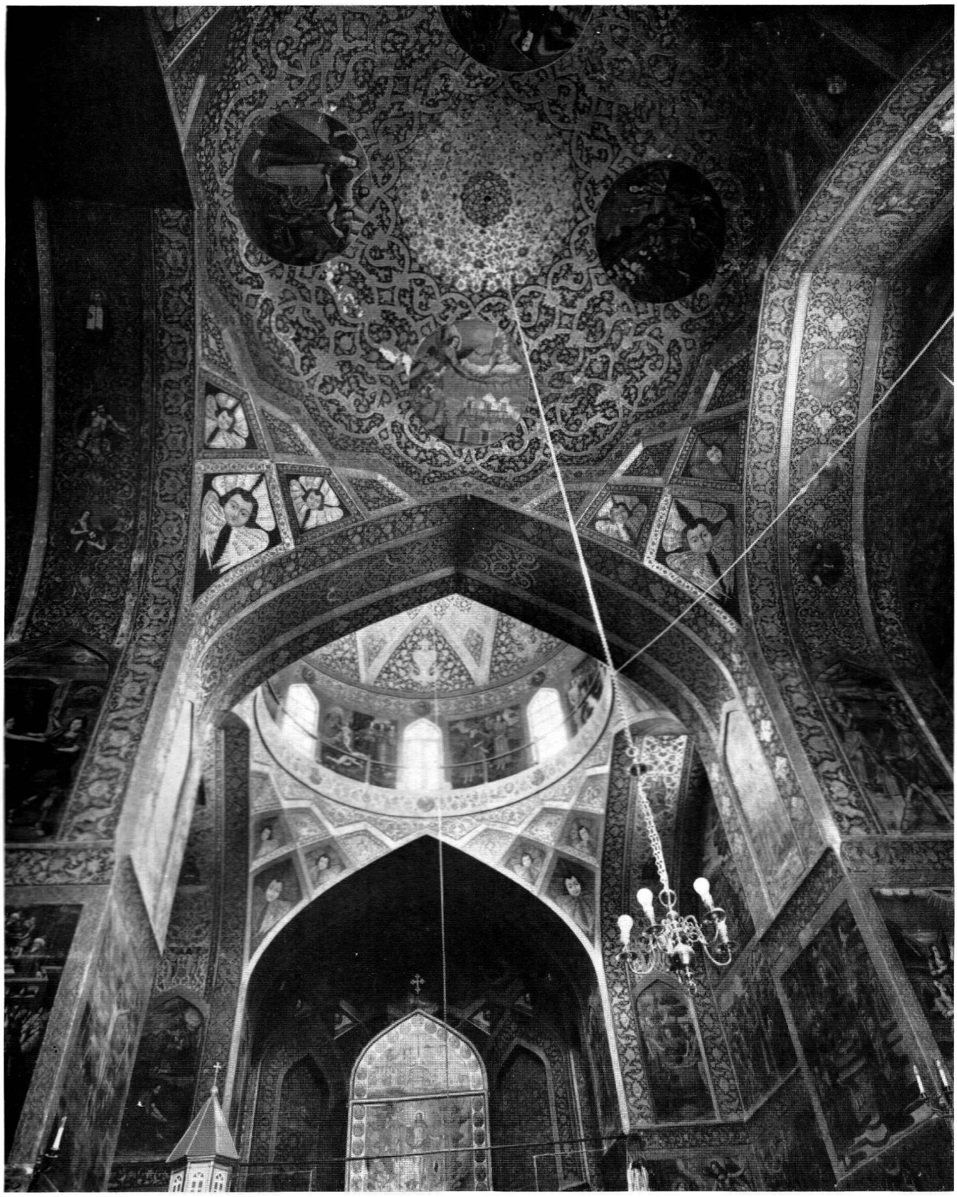


ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL from the NW

PLATE 4

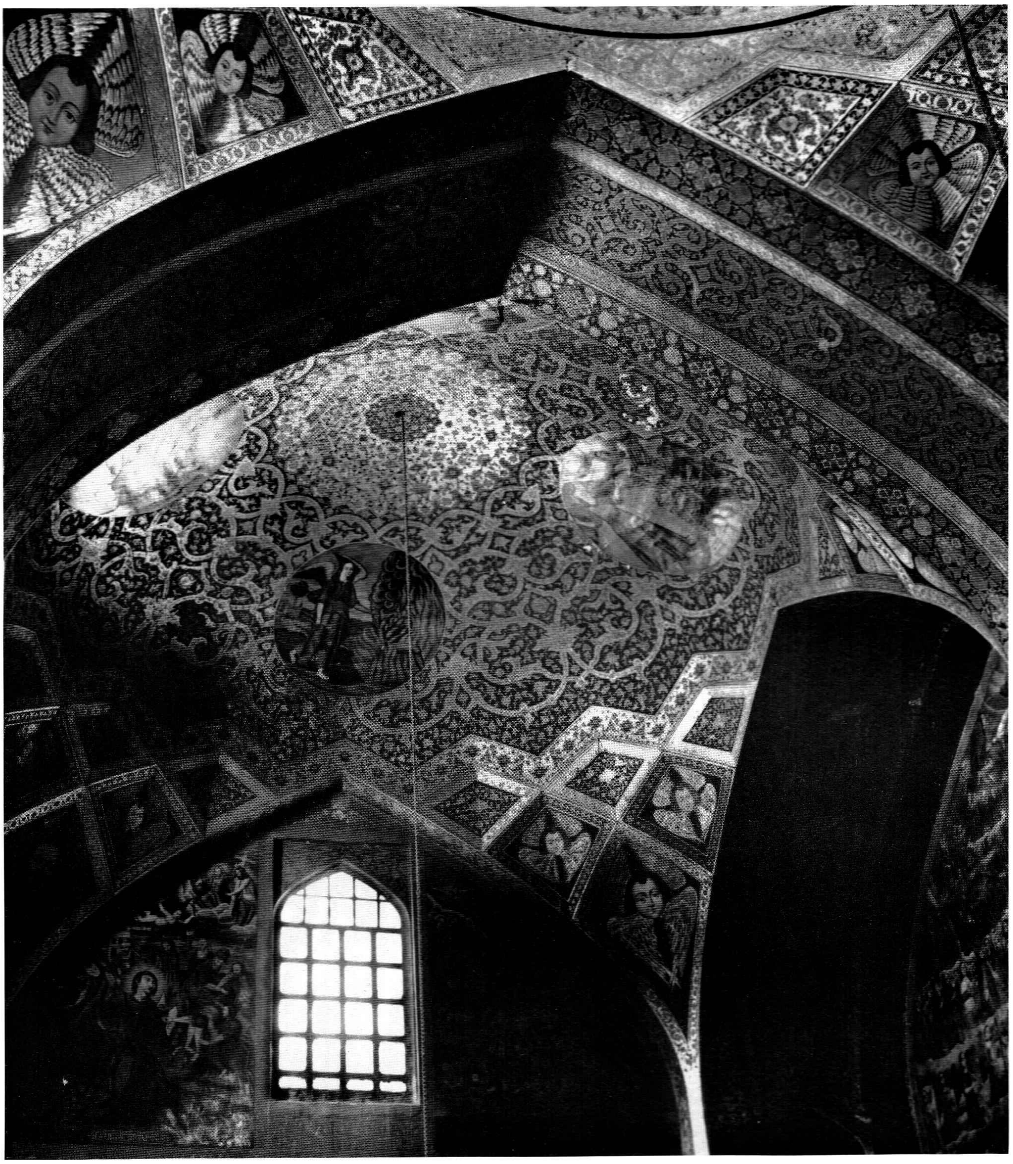


ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL interior looking east

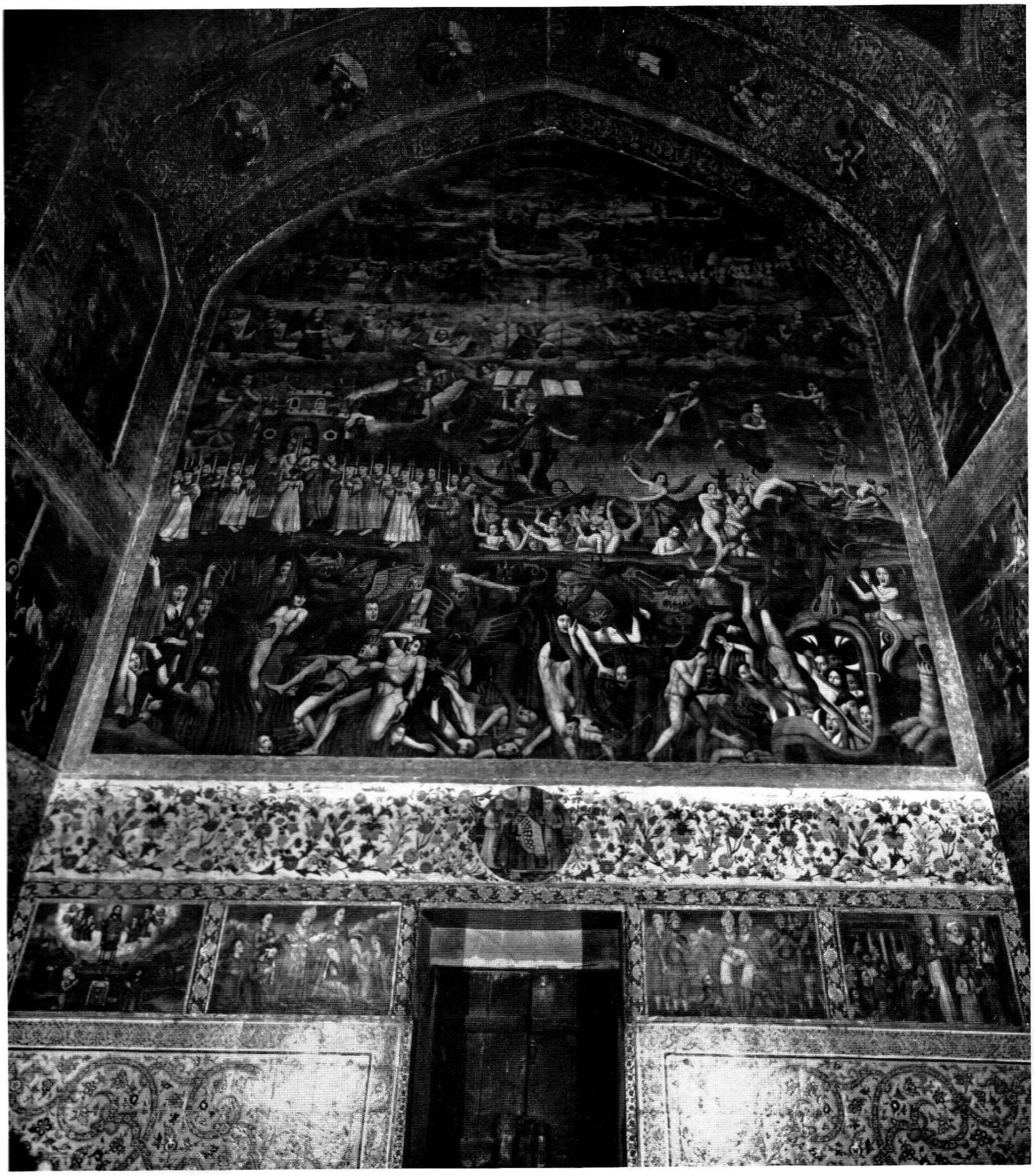


ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL interior looking east

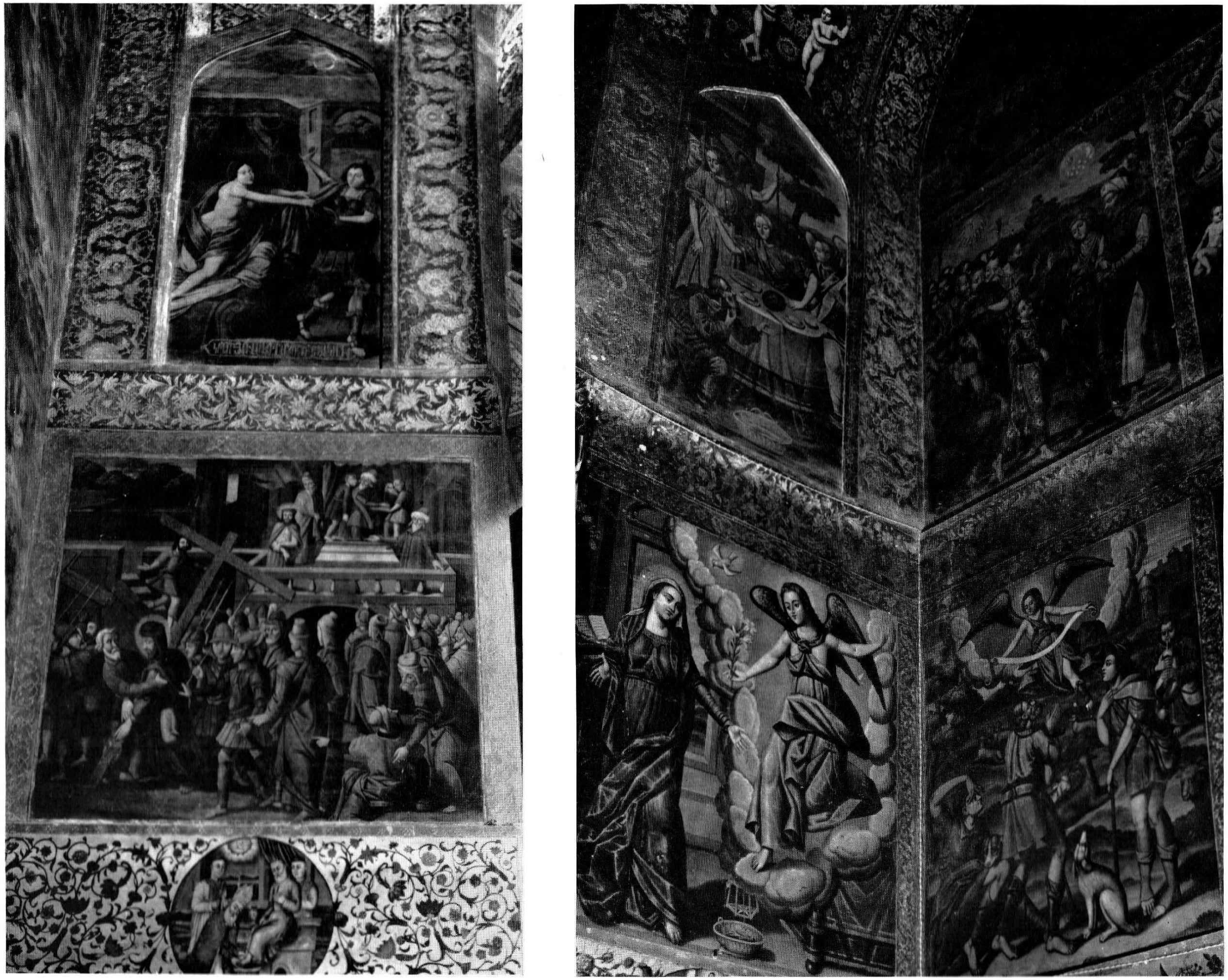
PLATE 6



ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL interior looking west

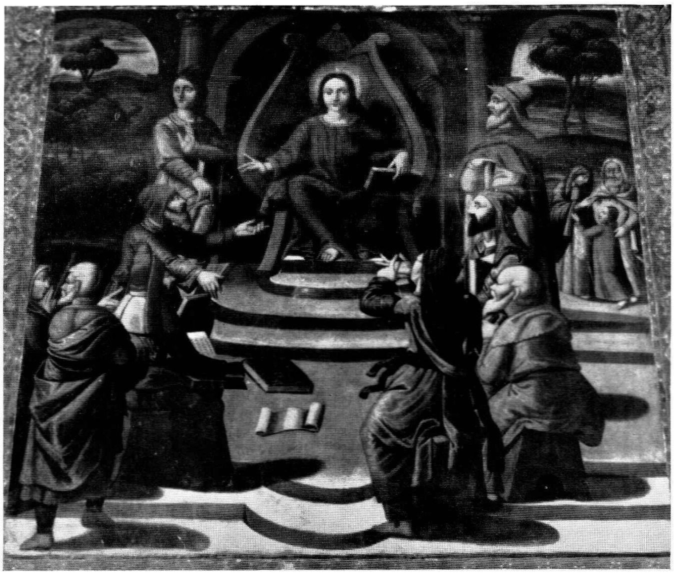


ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL north wall
above, *The Last Judgement*; below, scenes from the *Life of St. Gregory the Illuminator*



ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL

a. West face of NW pier; above, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*; below, *Ecce Homo* and *Carrying the Cross*
b. SE angle; above, *Abraham entertains the Angels* and *Joseph interprets the Moon and the Stars*; below, *The Annunciation* and *The Angel appears to the Shepherds*



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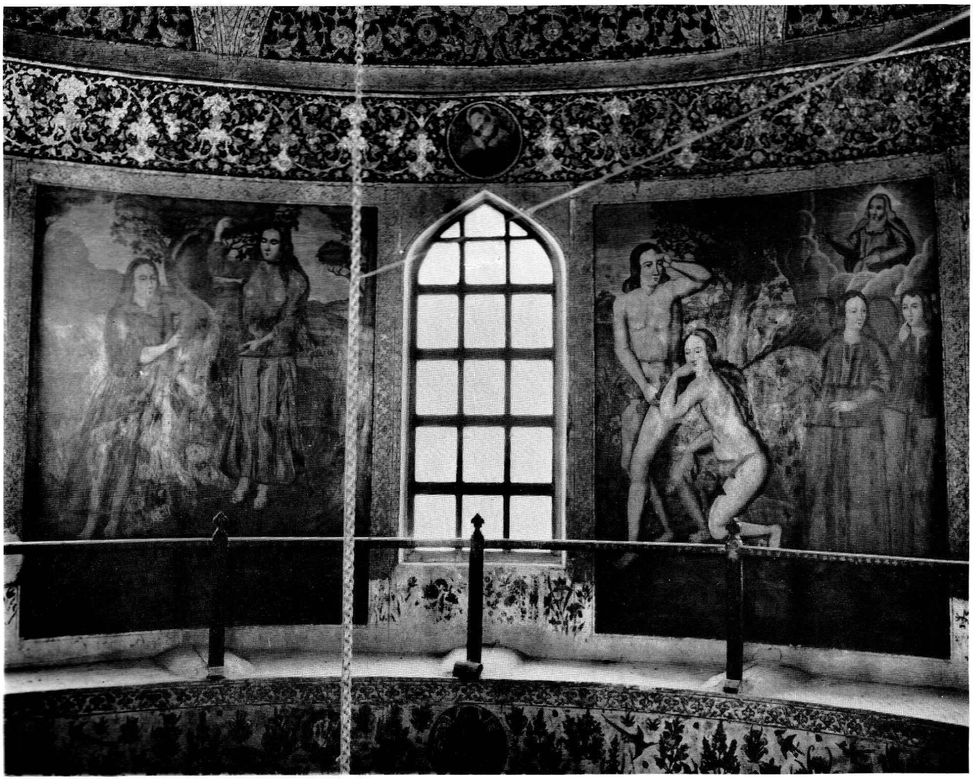
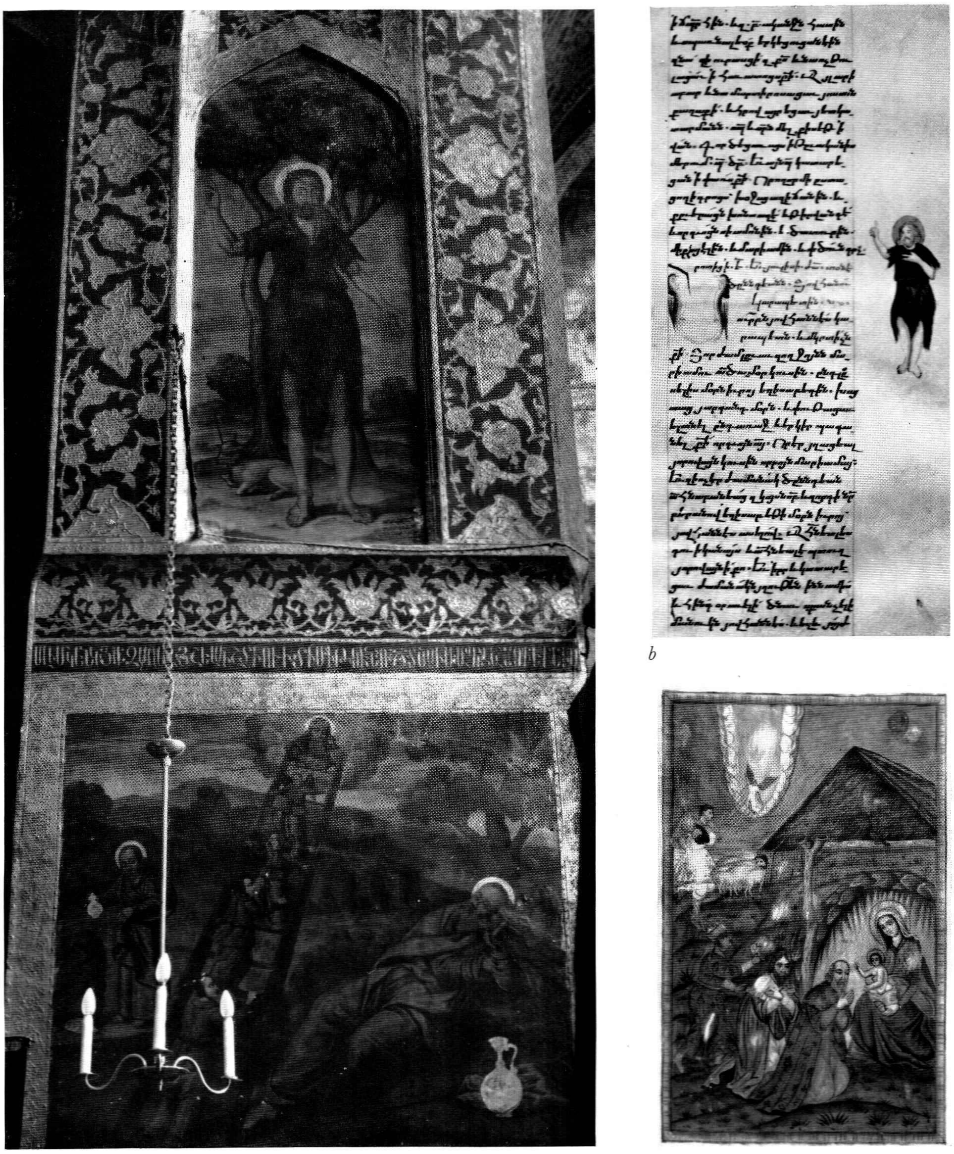


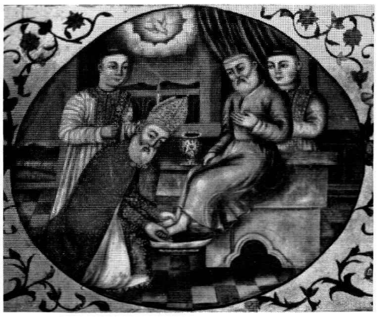
b

ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL

a. South pier; *Christ among the Doctors.* *b.* Interior of the drum below the dome; *The Creation and the Fall*



a. ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL, south wall of the chancel; above, *St. John the Baptist*, below, *Jacob's Ladder*; between the paintings is a stucco inscription, dated April 1661 A.D.
b. MS. NO. 219, Julfa Museum, p. 532; marginal illustration of *St. John the Baptist*, by Stepanos; 1658 A.D.
c. MS. NO. 219, Julfa Museum, *The Adoration of the Magi*, by Stepanos; 1658 A.D.



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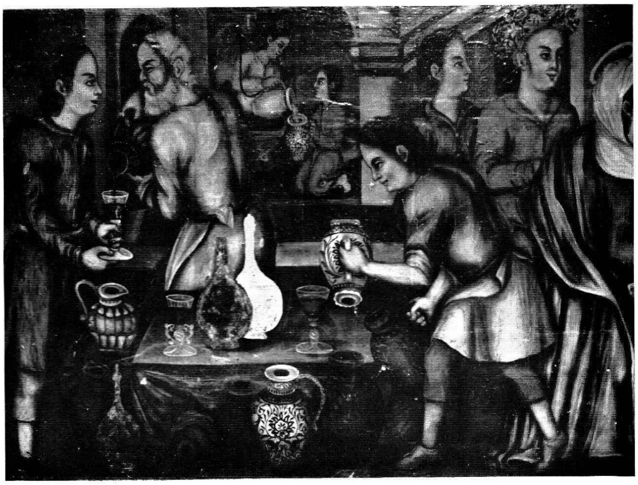

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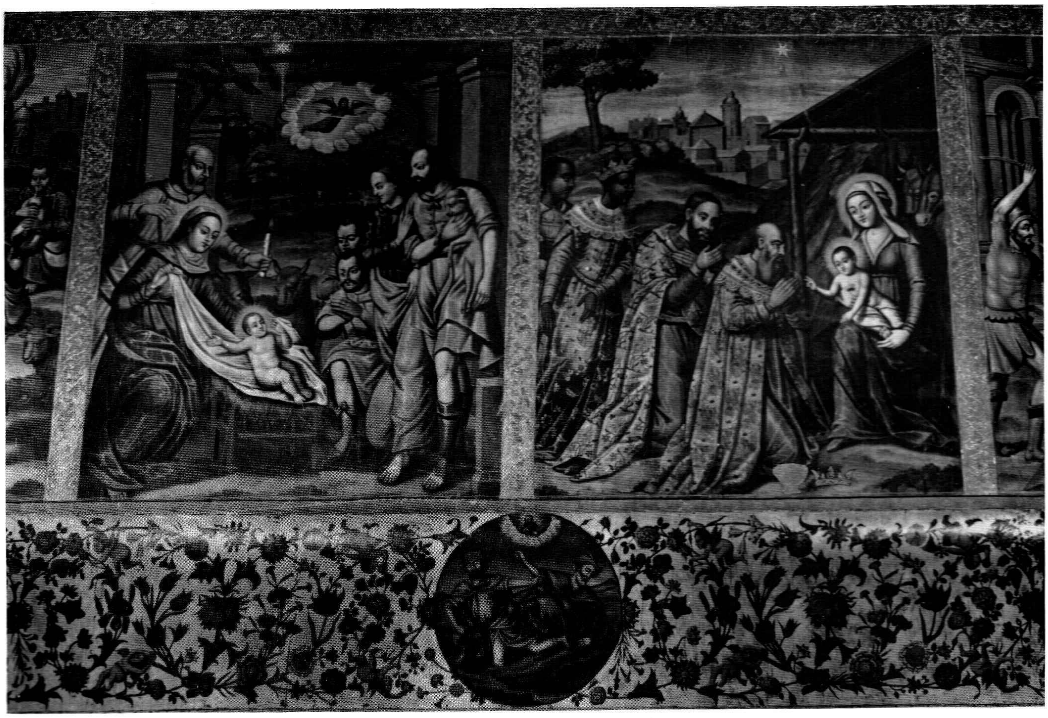
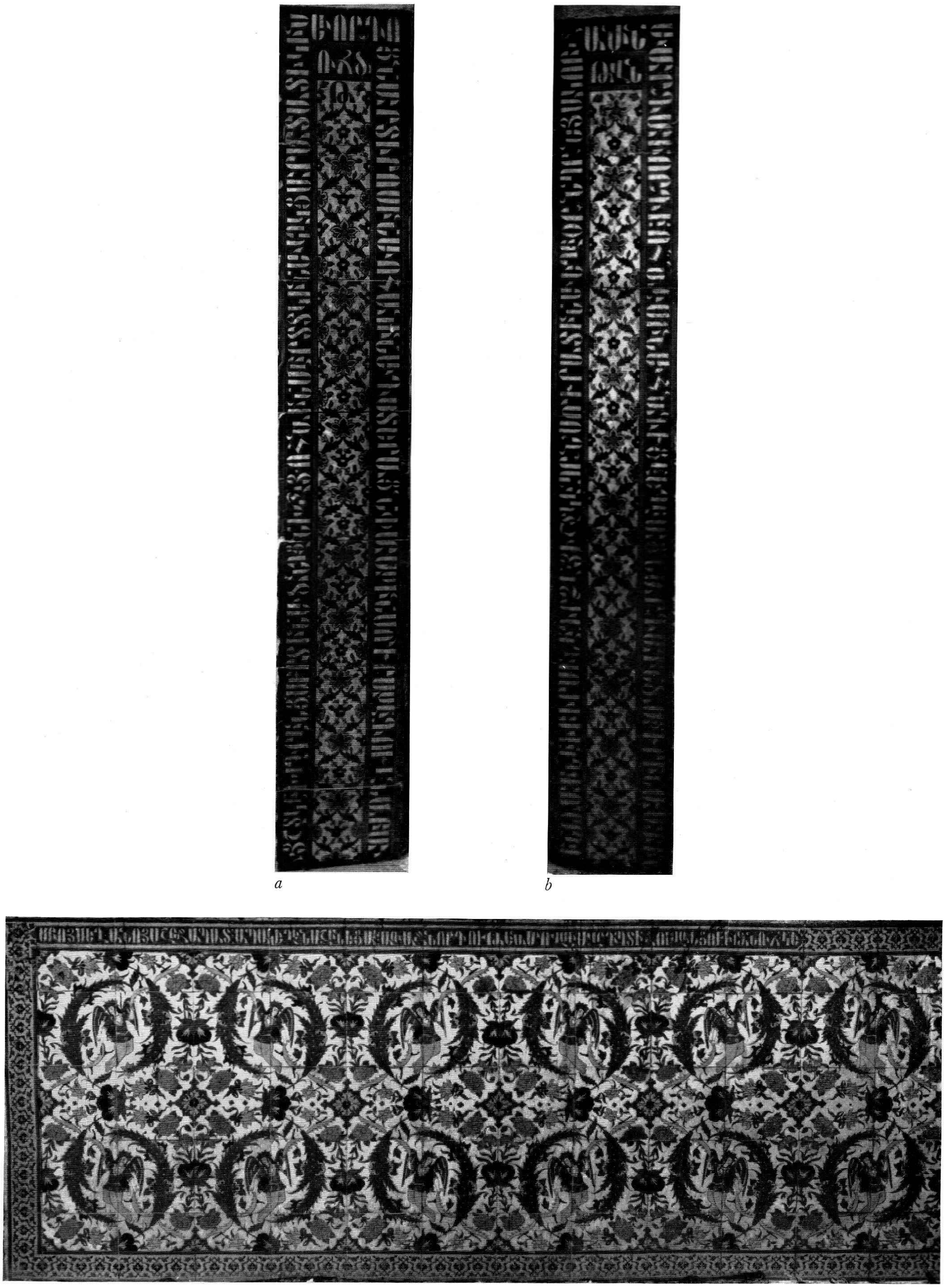


c

ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL

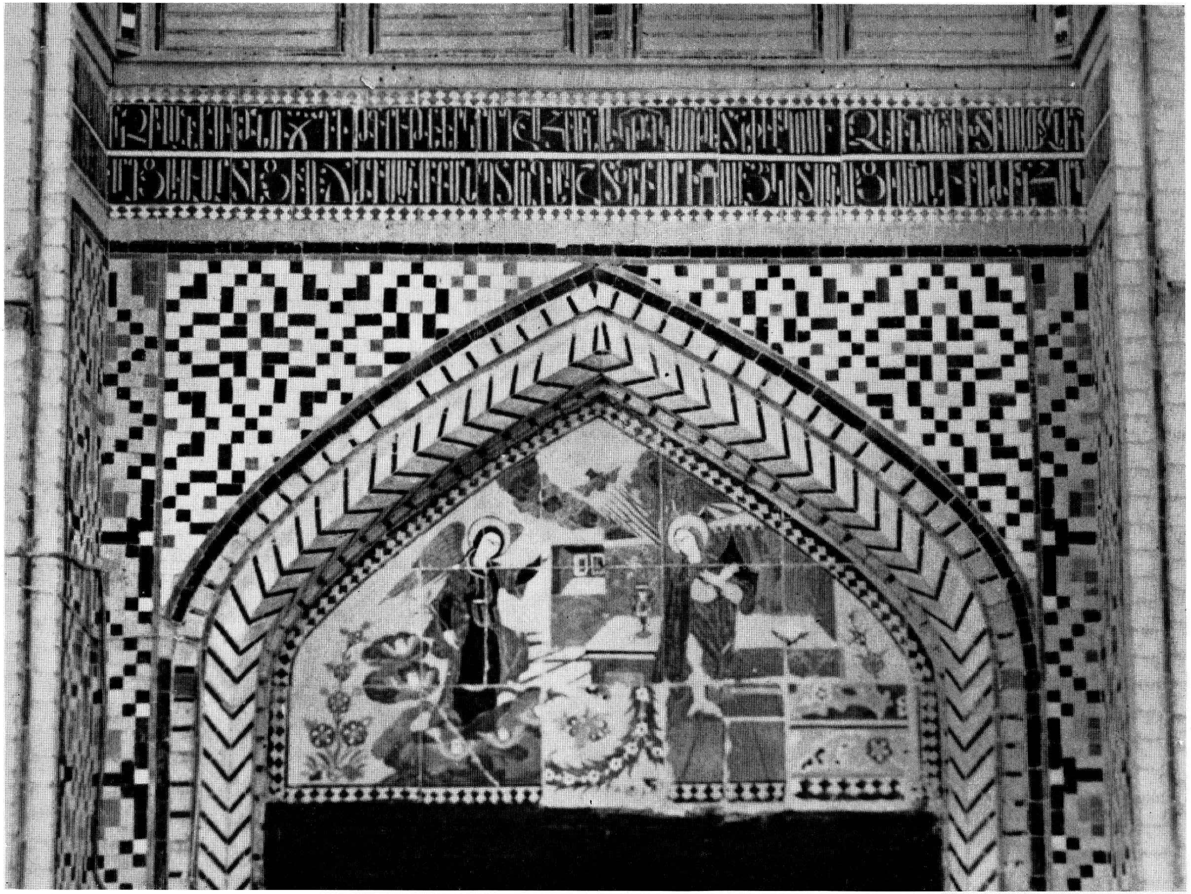
a. West face of NW pier; *The Washing of the Feet*
b. South wall, lower band of paintings; detail of *The Marriage at Cana*
c. South wall; *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi*; below, *The Blind falling into the Pit*



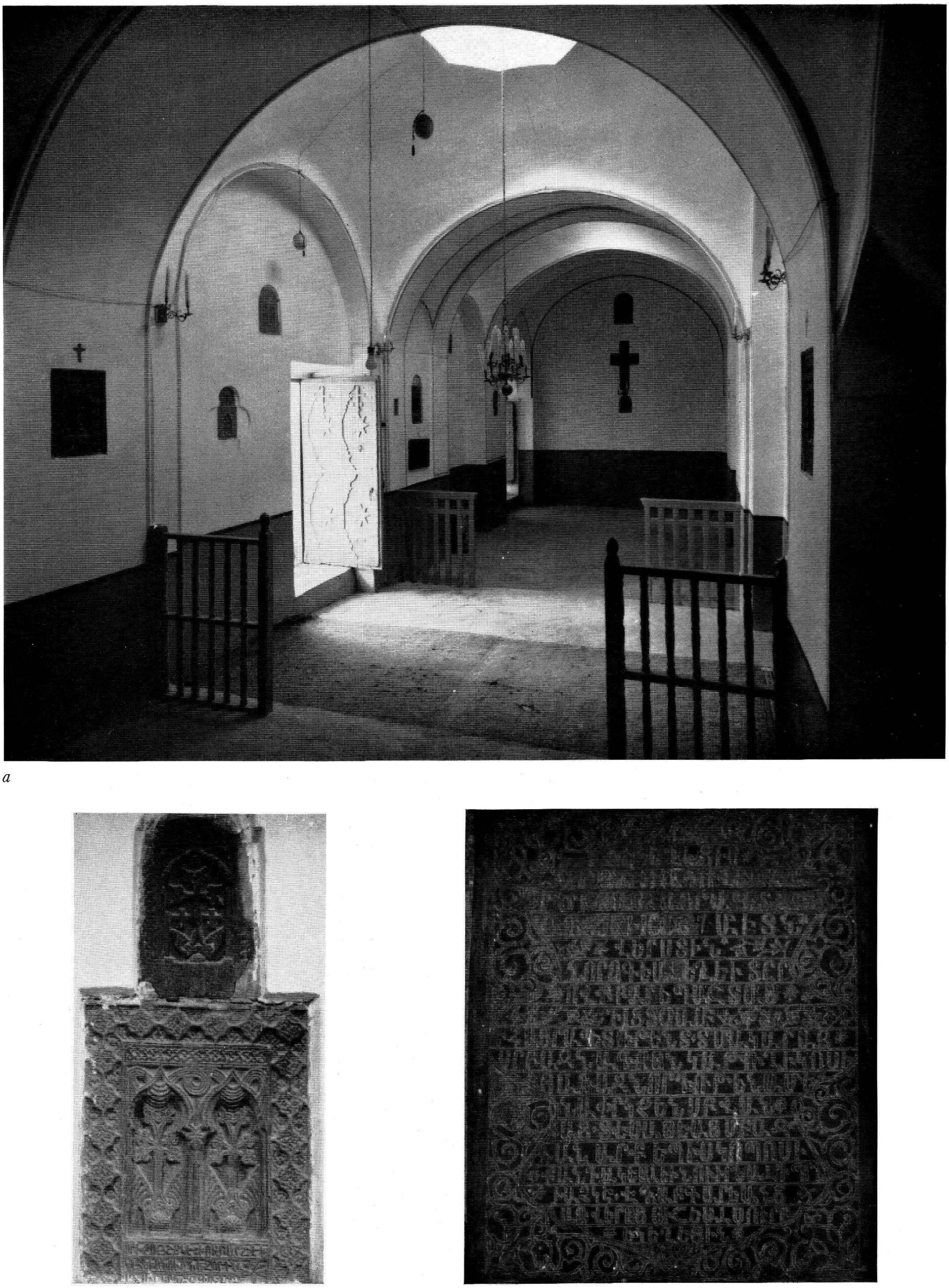
a *b* *c*

ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL

a. and *b.* West and east jambs of the north door; tile inscription dated 1709/10 A.D.
c. North wall of chancel; tile panel, inscribed and dated 1715/16 A.D.



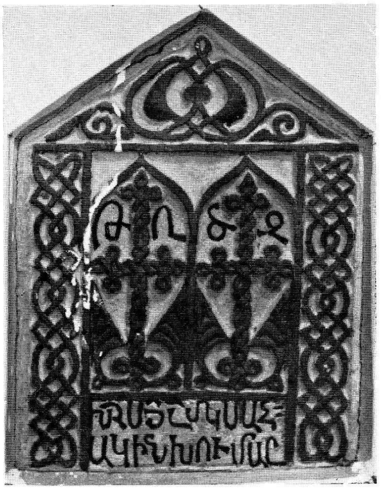
ALL SAVIOUR'S CATHEDRAL *The Annunciation*, tile panel above the west door, dated 1717 A.D.



CHURCH OF ST. JAMES

a. Interior, looking west. *b*. Carved stones above the south door

c. Carved inscription, referring to the founding of the church in 1606 A.D. and its restoration in 1890



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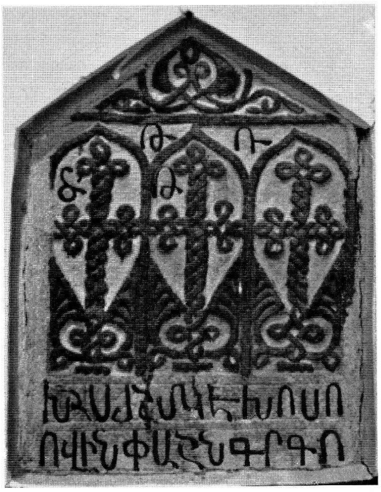

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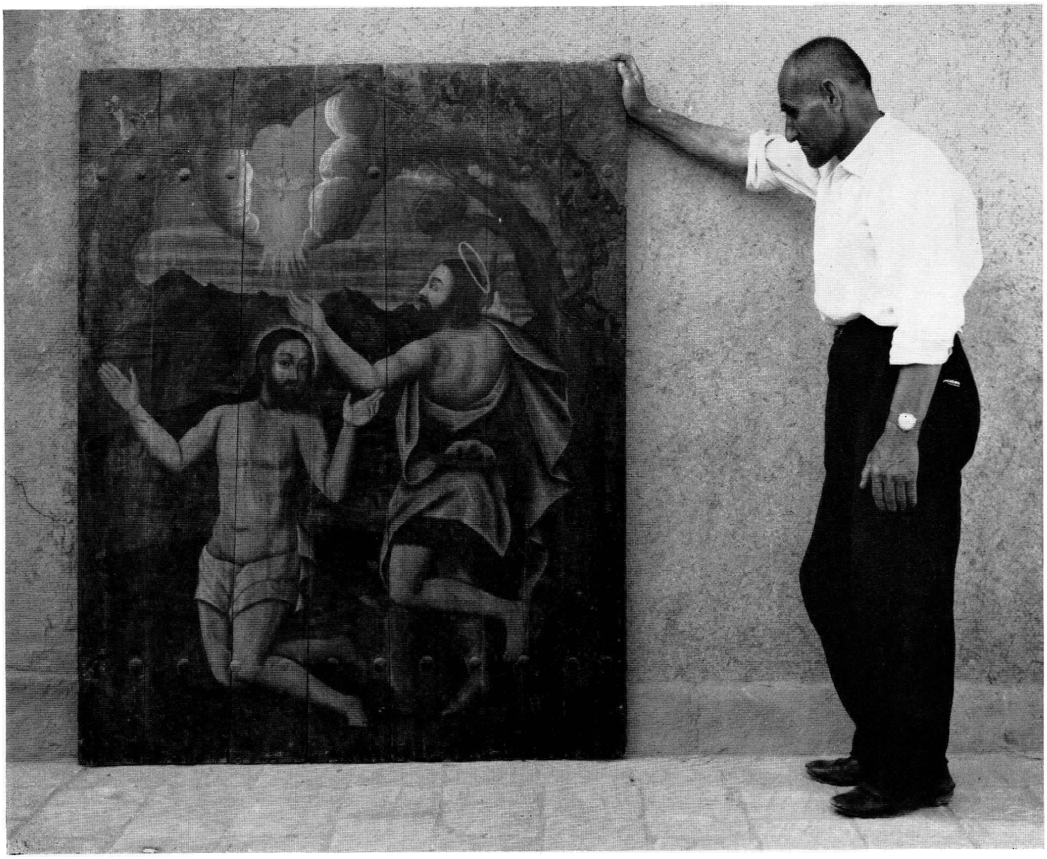
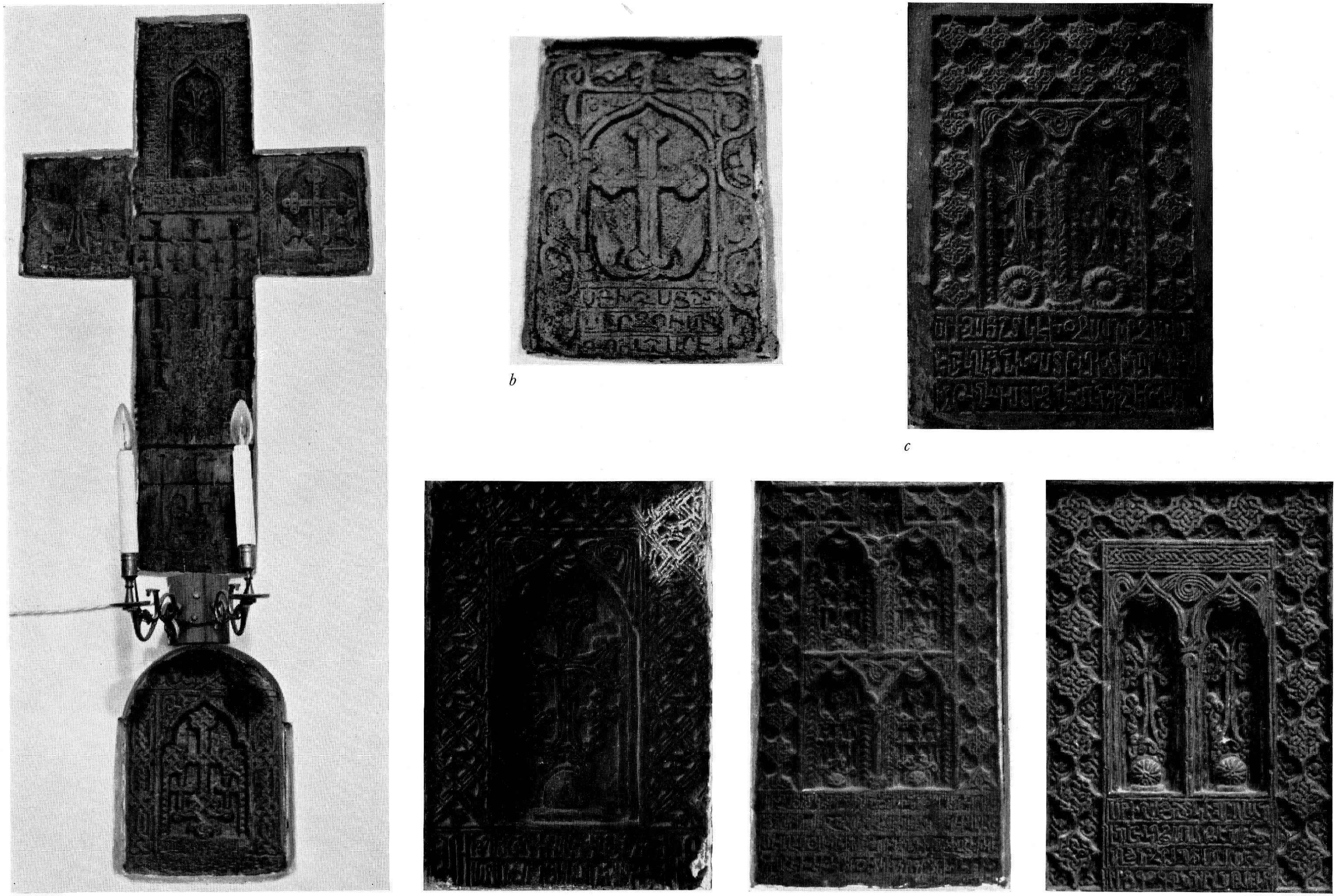


c

CHURCH OF ST. JAMES

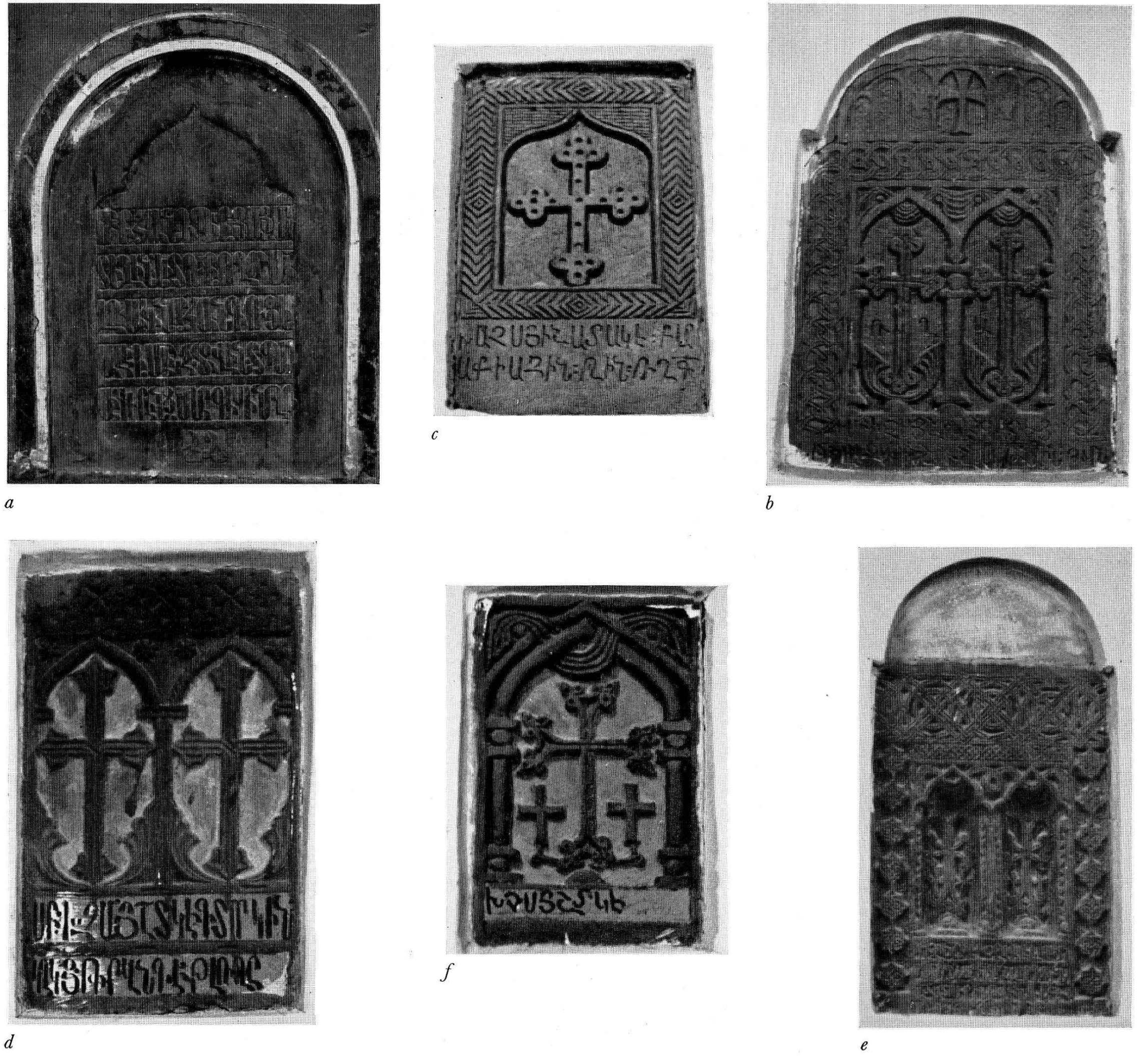
a. Carved stone cross: '*This cross in memory of Sahak Xumar*', 1606 A.D.
b. Carved stone cross, dated 1609 A.D.
c. *The Baptism of Christ*, oil painting, on a bolted wooden panel, 150 by 120 cms.

PLATE 16



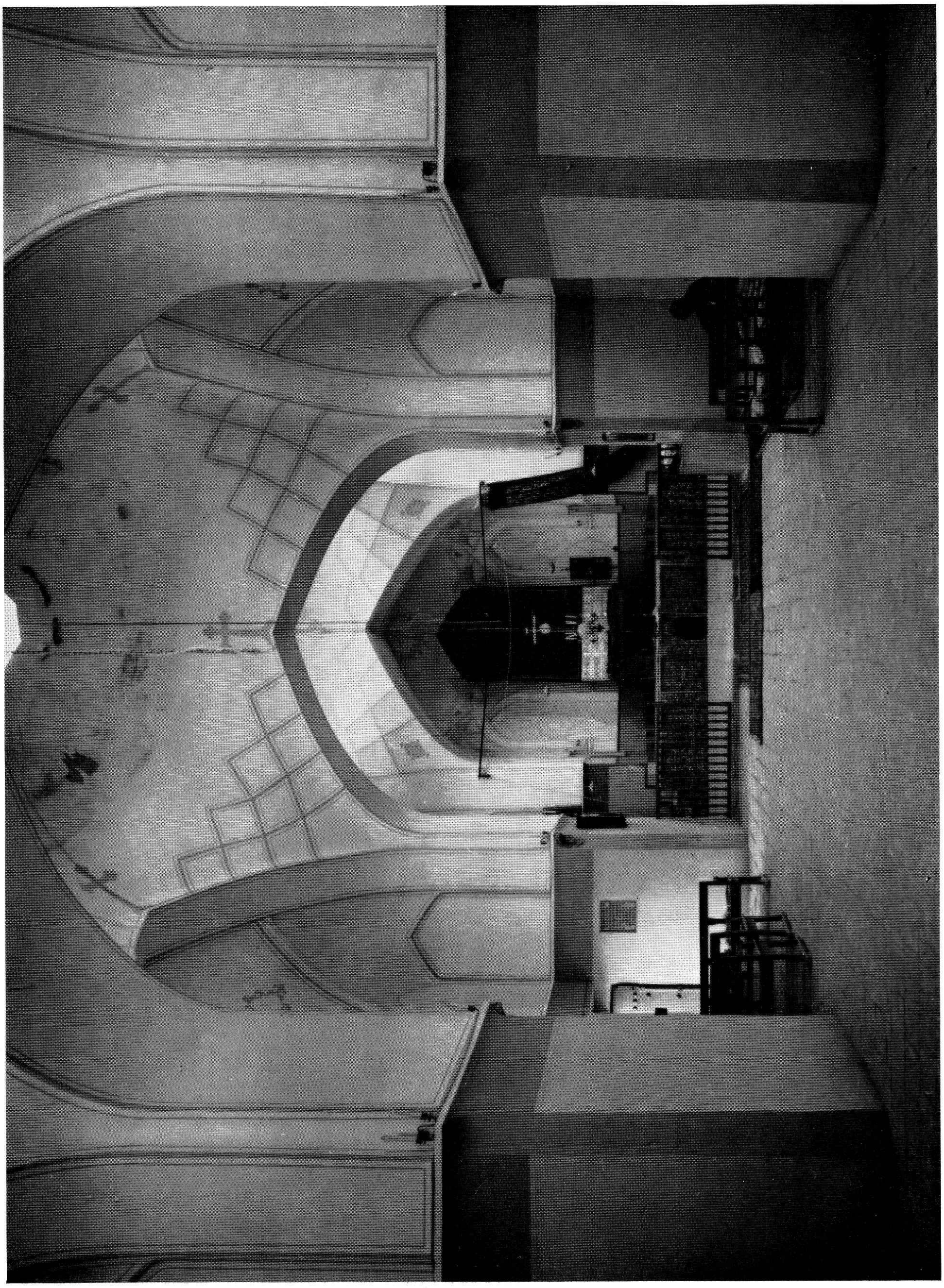
CHURCH OF ST. JAMES carved stone crosses

a. Six crosses; panel between the lights dated 1610 A.D. *b.* Dated 1626 A.D. *c.* Dated 1612 A.D. *d.* Dated 1612 A.D. *e.* Dated 1612 A.D. *f.* Dated 1612 A.D.

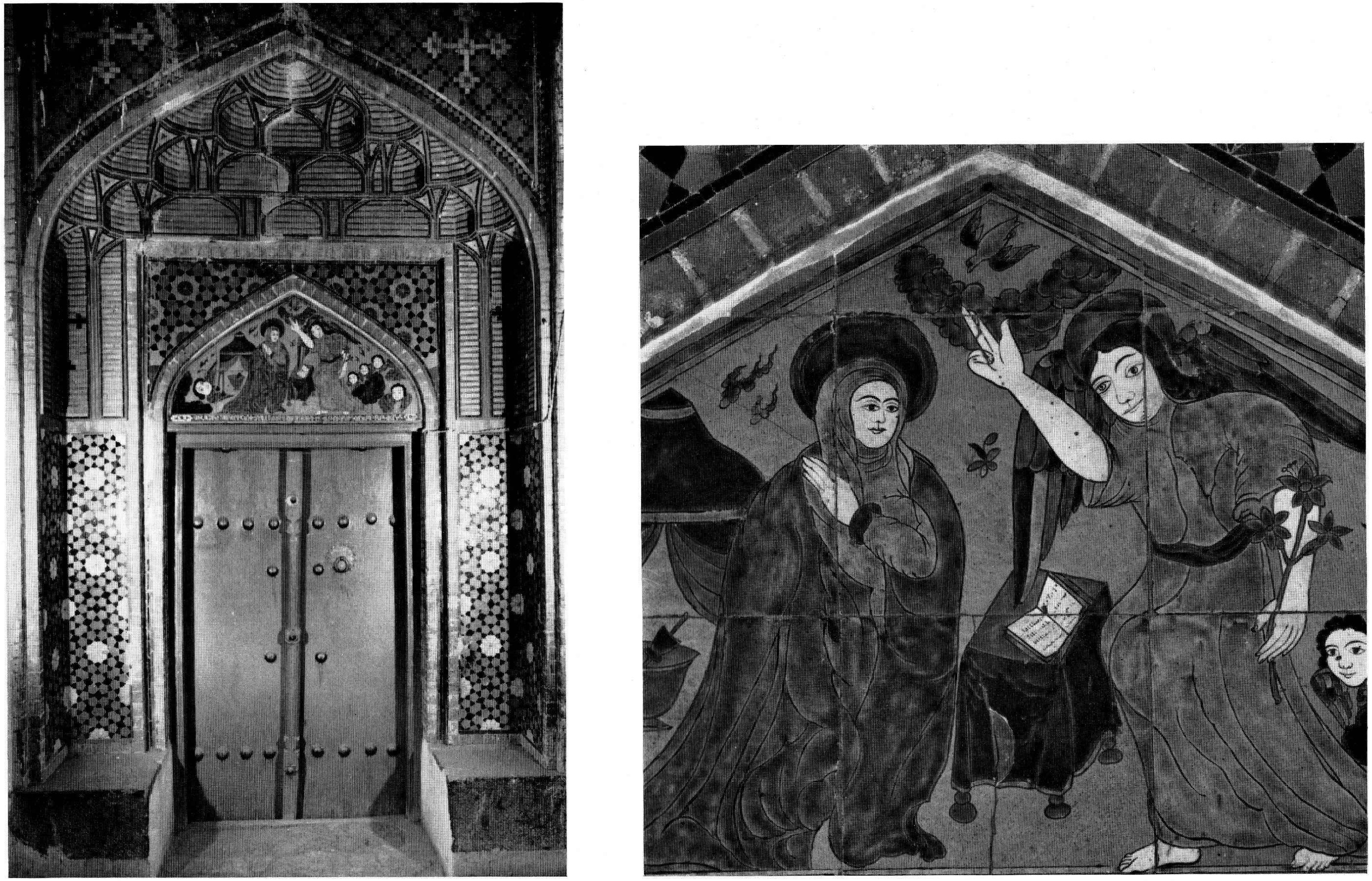


CHURCH OF ST. JAMES carved stone crosses

a. Carved inscription set in the chancel front, dated 1630 A.D. *b.* Dated 1641 A.D. *c.* Dated 1643 A.D. *d.* Dated 1648 A.D. *e.* (undated). *f.* Carved stone cross with unfinished inscription, '*This in memory of . . .*'



CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE interior looking east

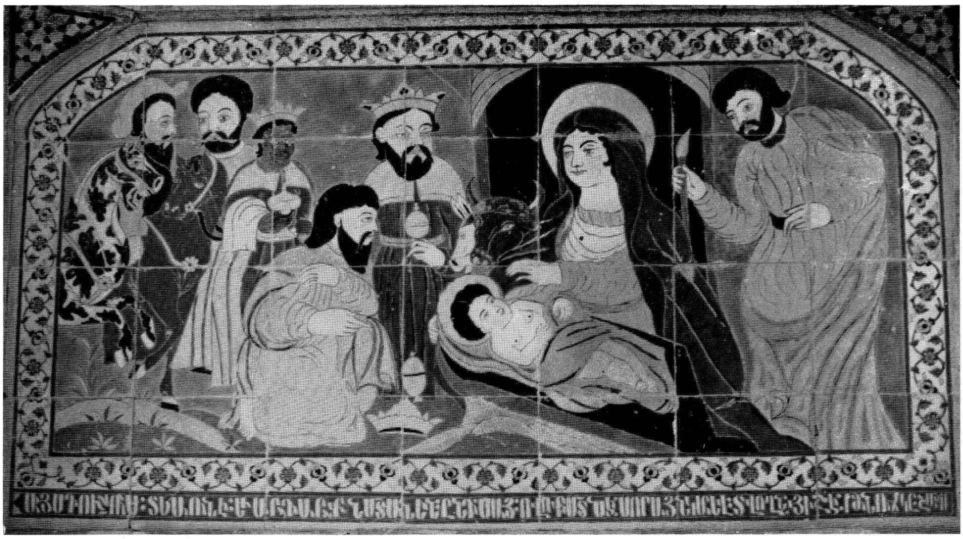


a

b

CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE

a. Exterior, west doorway; *The Annunciation*, tile panel inscribed and dated 1716/17 A.D. *b*. Detail of tile panel



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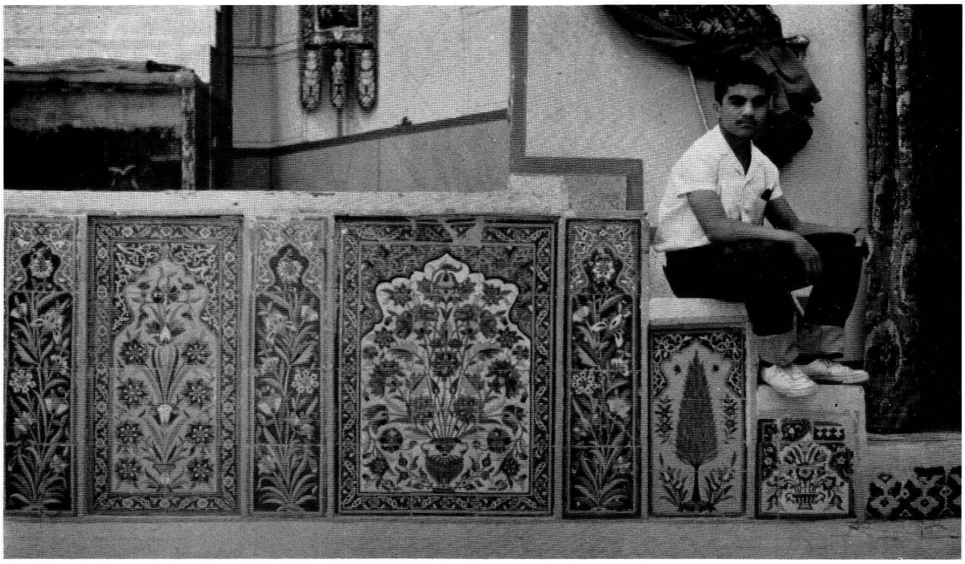
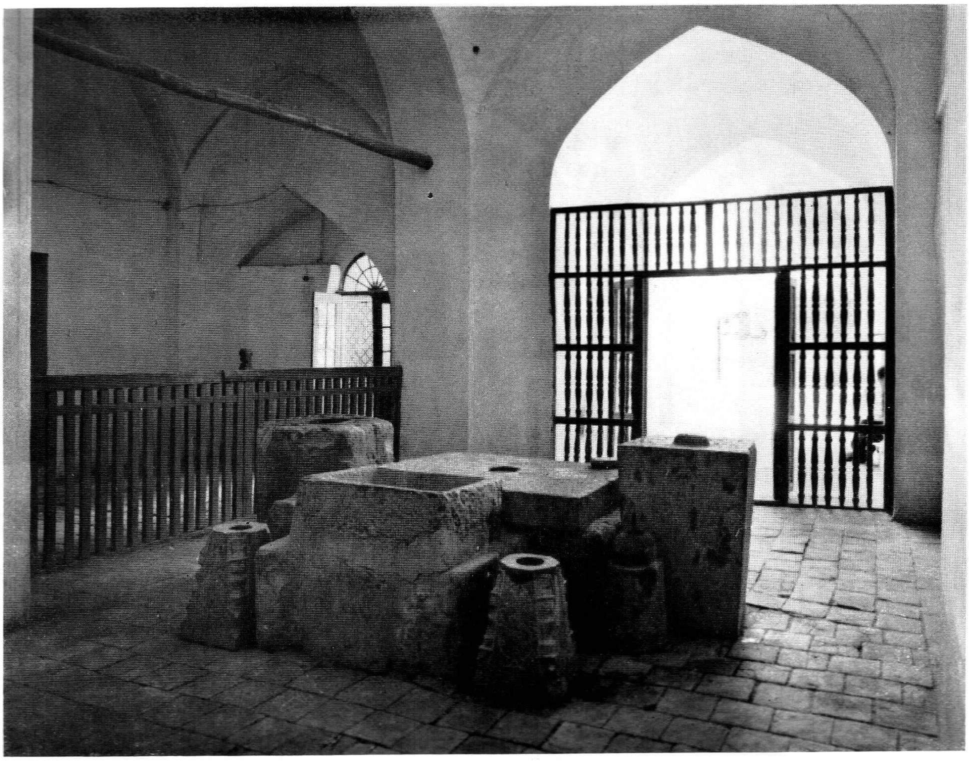


b

CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE

a. The Adoration of the Magi, tile panel above the north door, inscribed and dated 1619 A.D.
b. Detail of tiles on the front of the chancel



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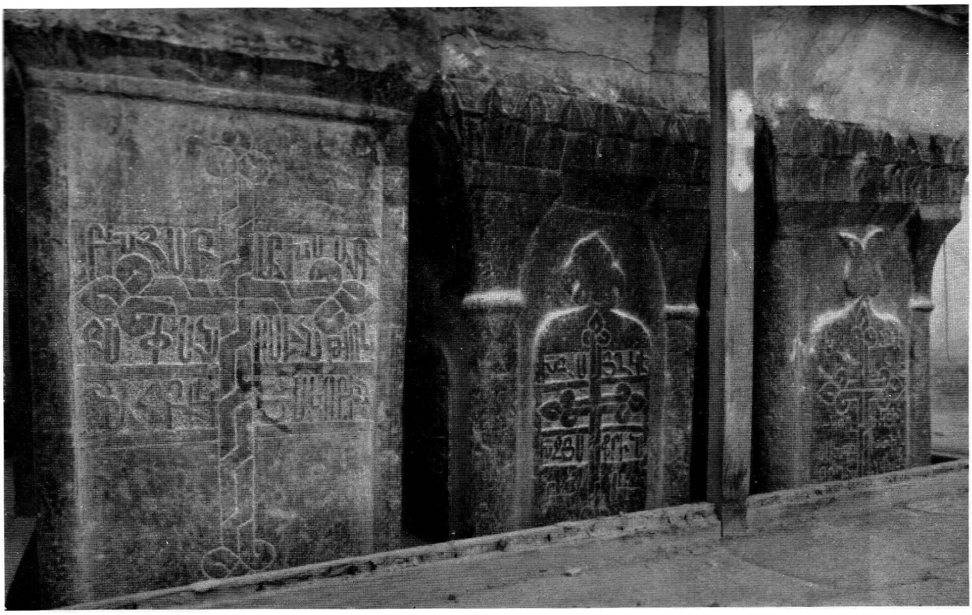
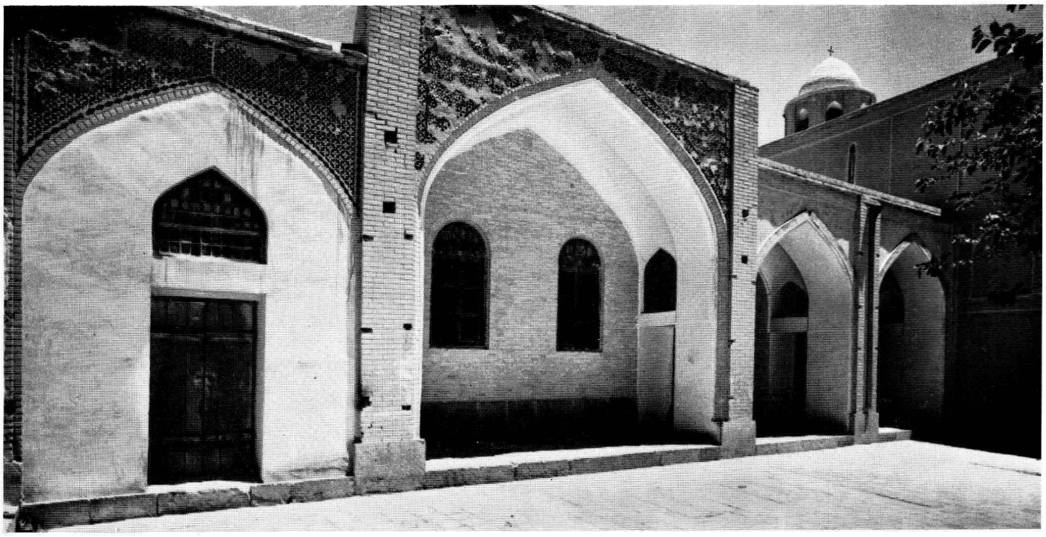


b

CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE

a. A group of stone architectural fragments from the Cathedral at Etchmiadzin, brought by order of Shah Abbas I to Julfa in 1614 A.D., now in the courtyard north of the church

b. Altar with frontal removed, showing the three supporting carved stones, also from Etchmiadzin; one bears the date 1610/11 A.D.



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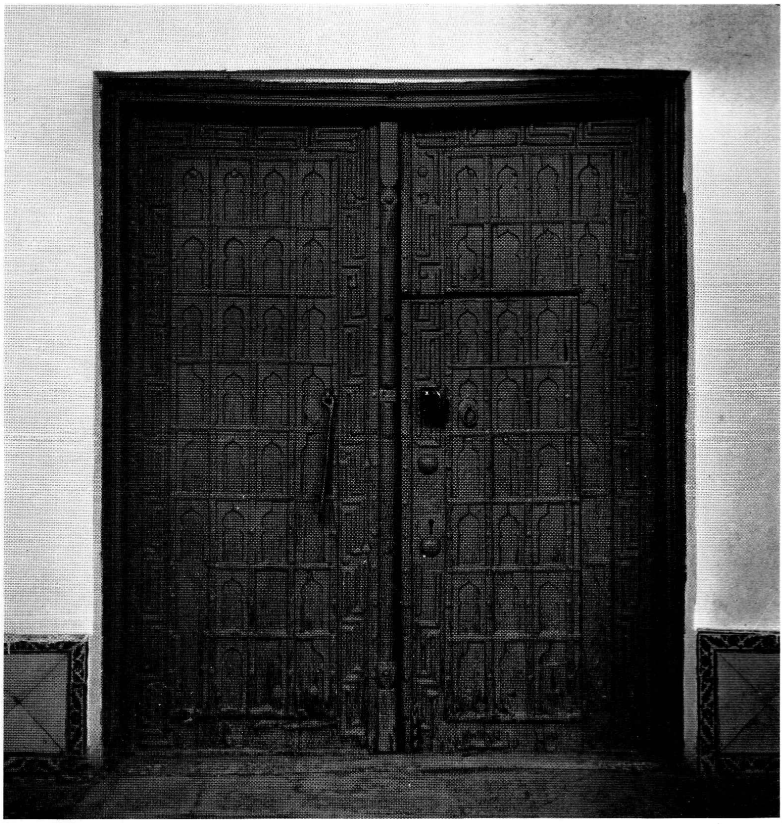
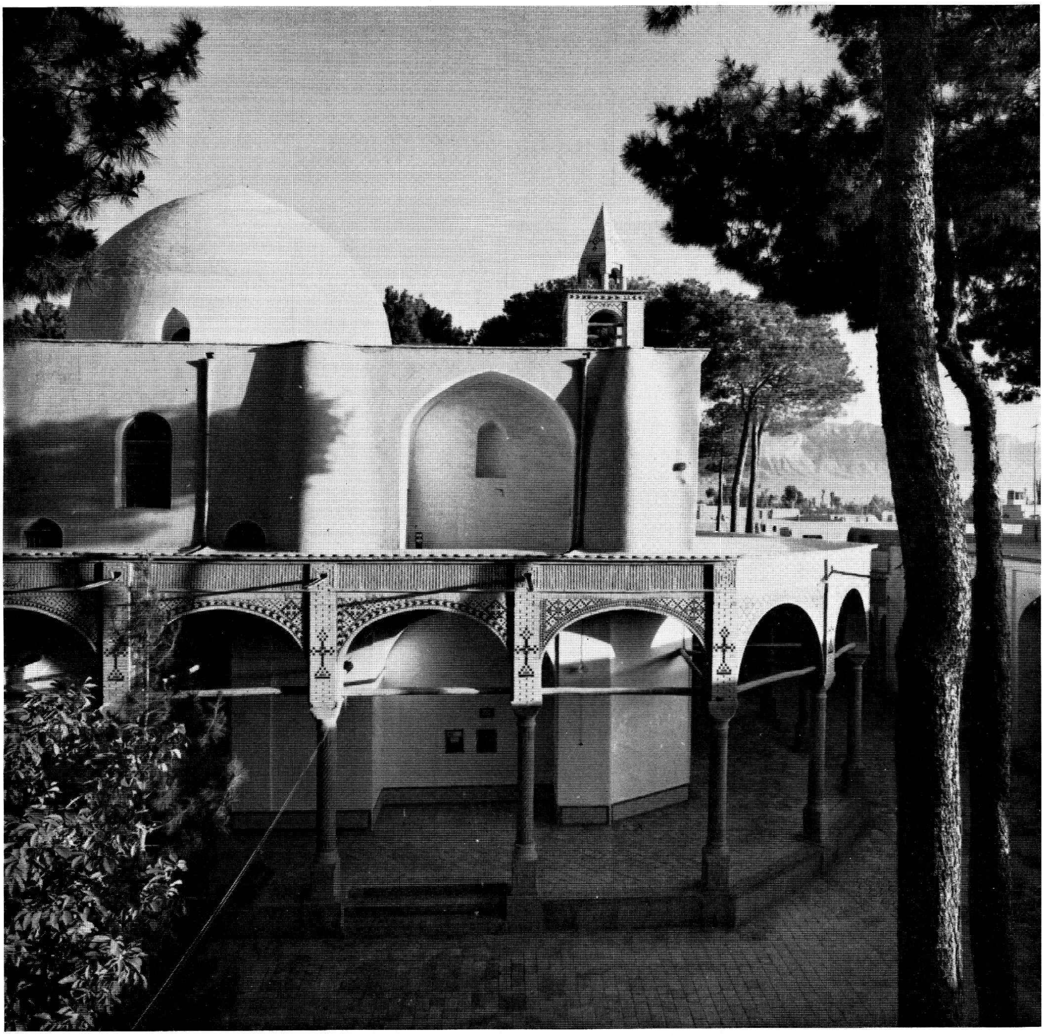


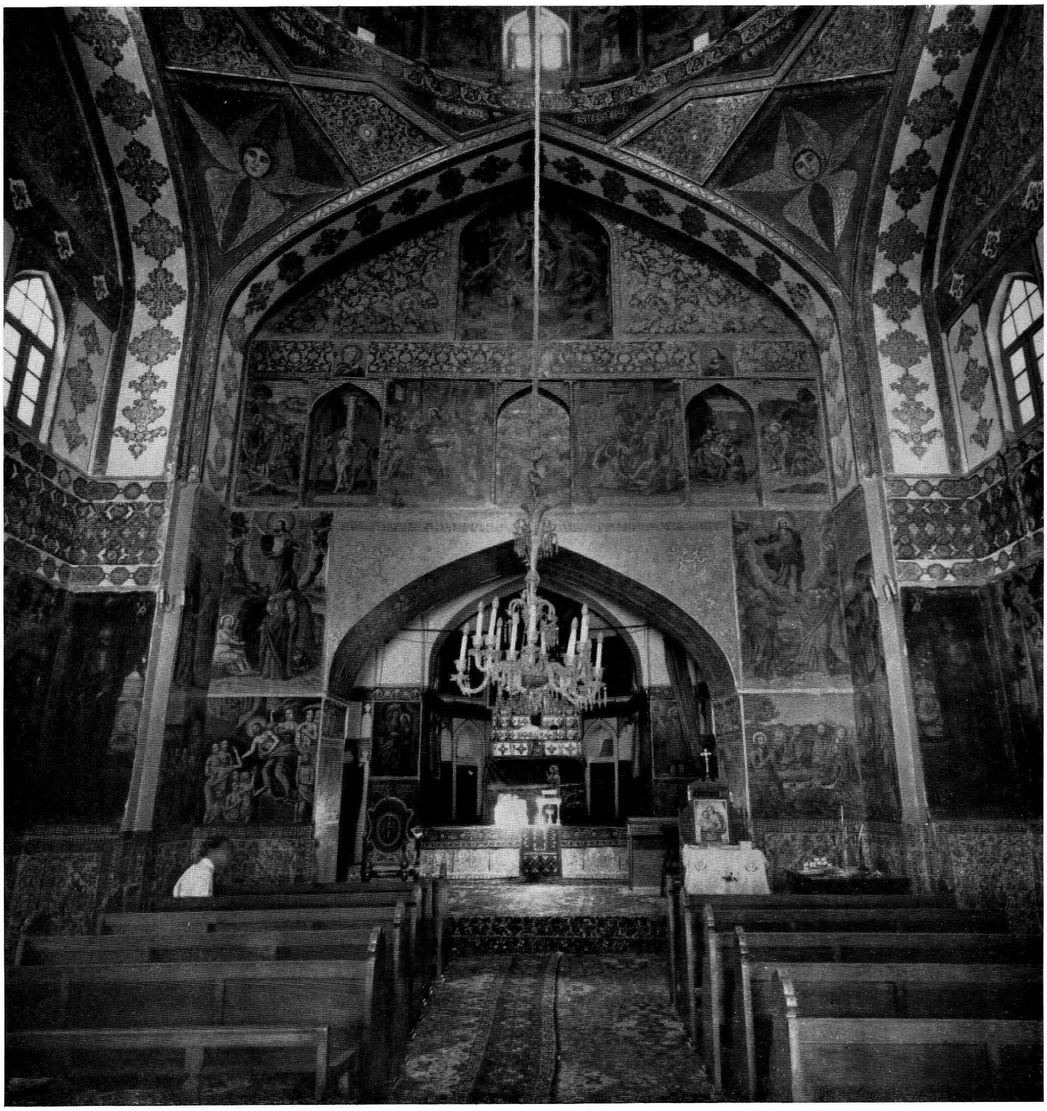
b

a. CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE exterior of the annexe, showing deterioration of mosaic decoration in the spandrels, and later brickwork in the central arch

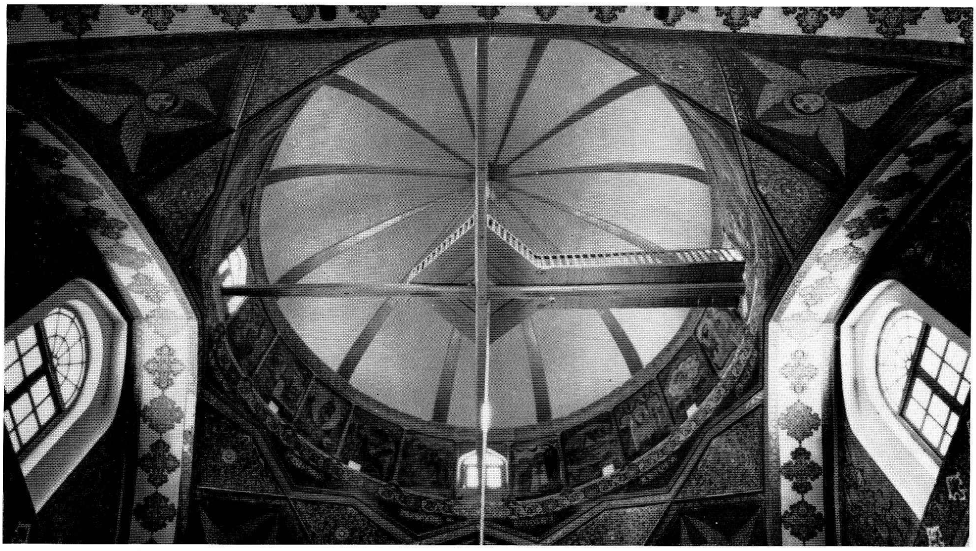
b. CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD west door



CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD exterior looking south



CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD interior looking east



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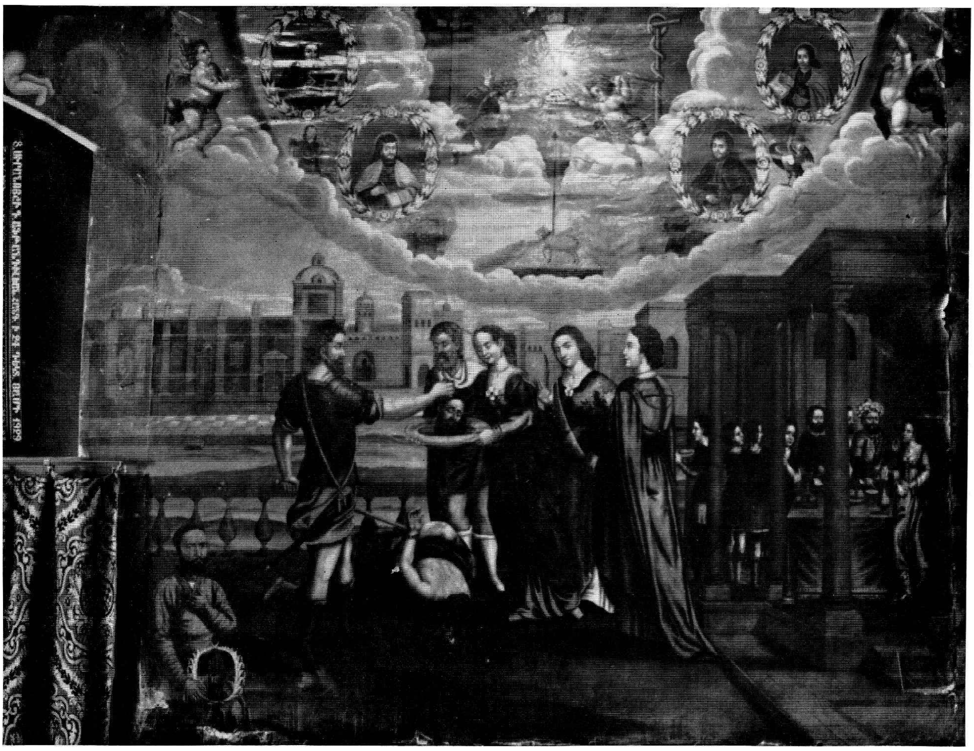
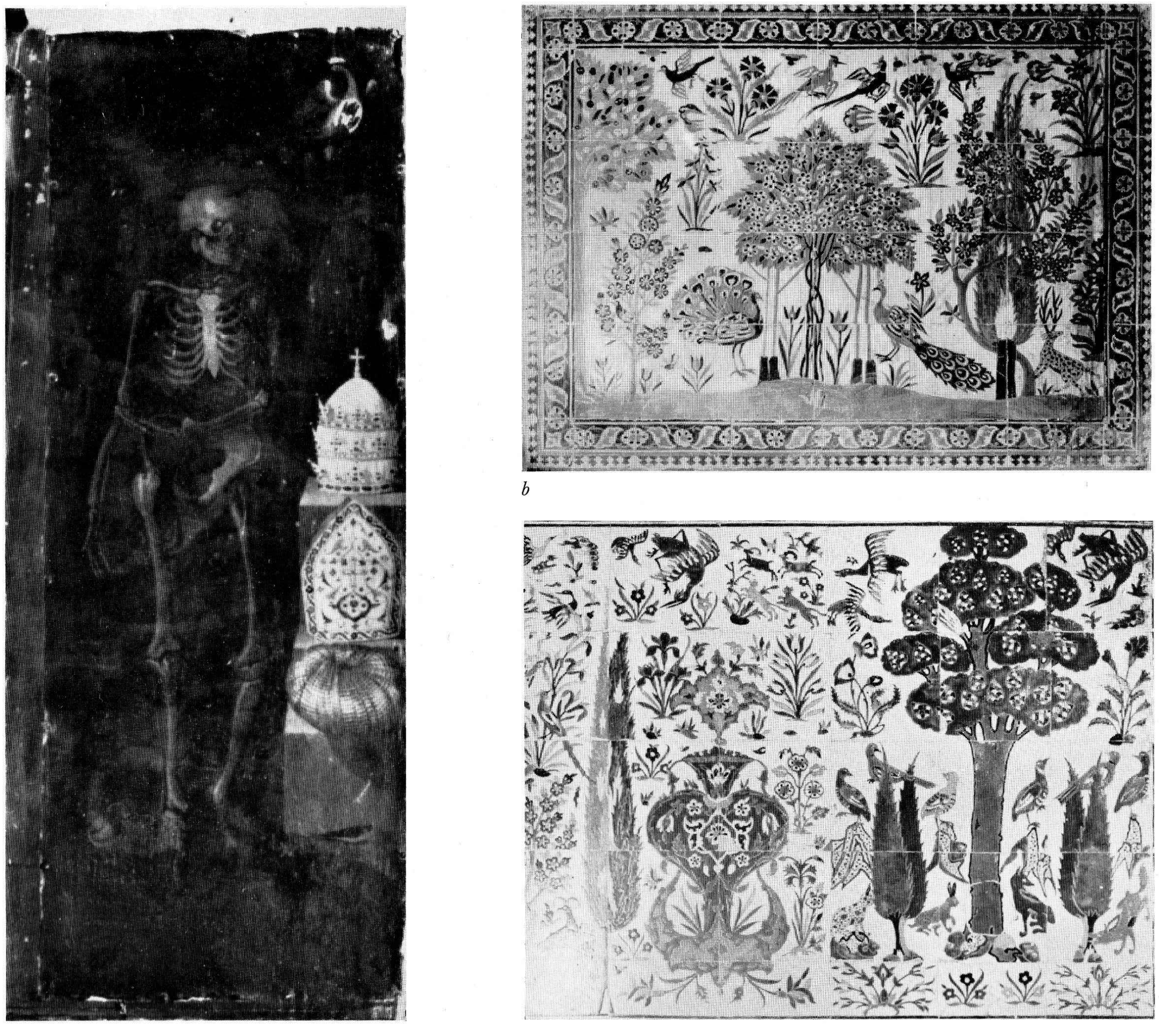


b

CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

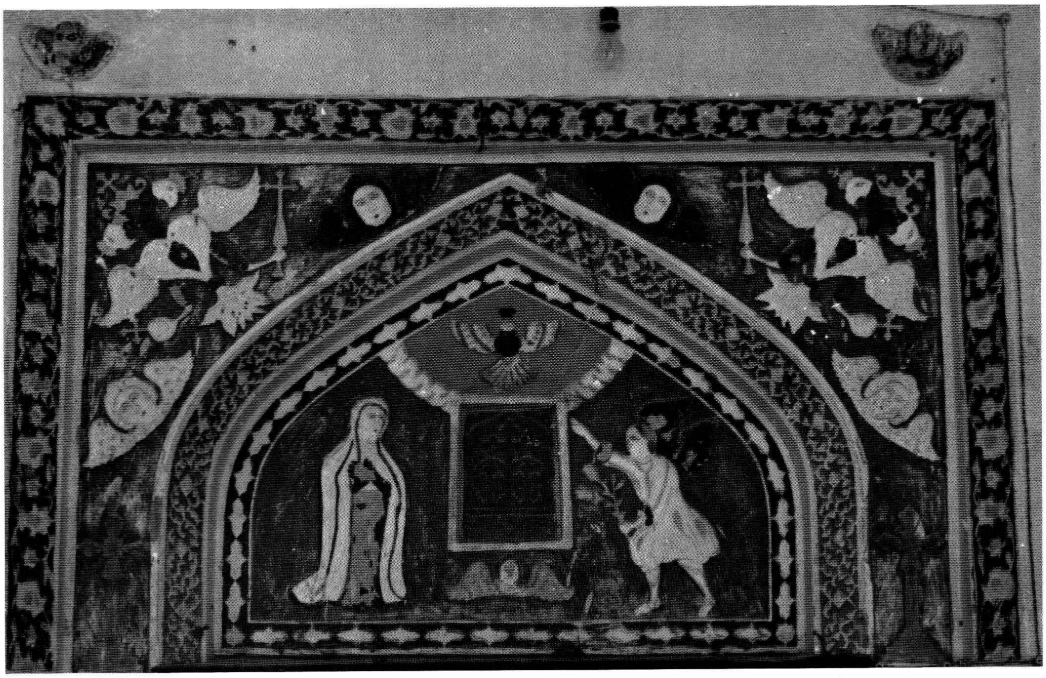
a. Interior of the dome, looking east

b. The Beheading of St. John, oil painting on canvas marouflaged on to the north wall. Italian school, early eighteenth century



CHURCH OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

a. Oil painting on canvas marouflaged on to the west face of the NE pier. Italian school, early eighteenth century
b and *c.* Details of tile panels



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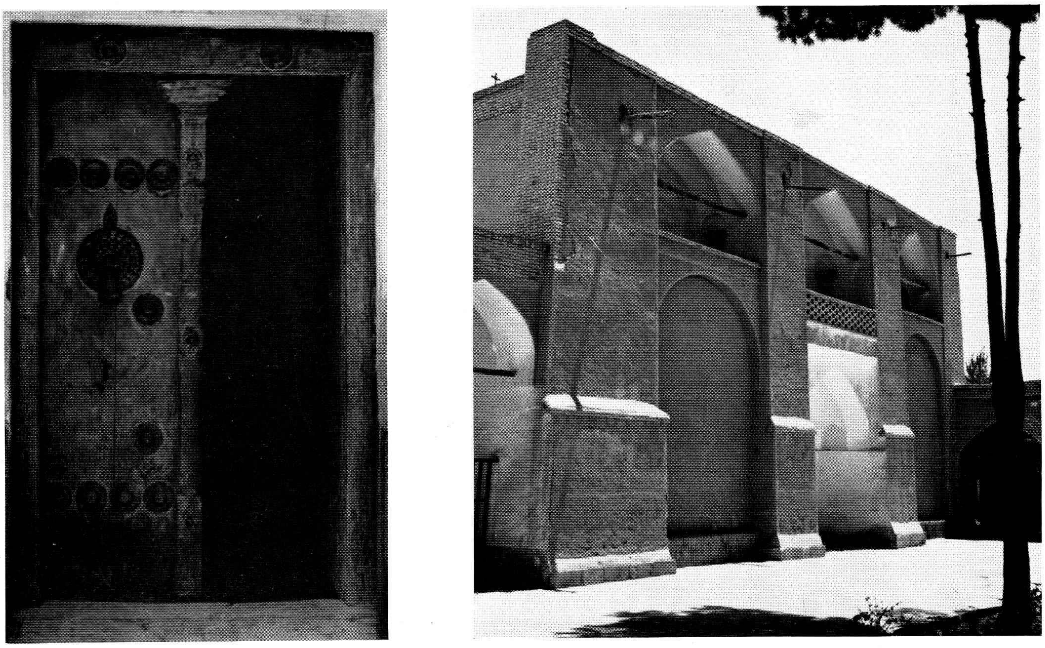
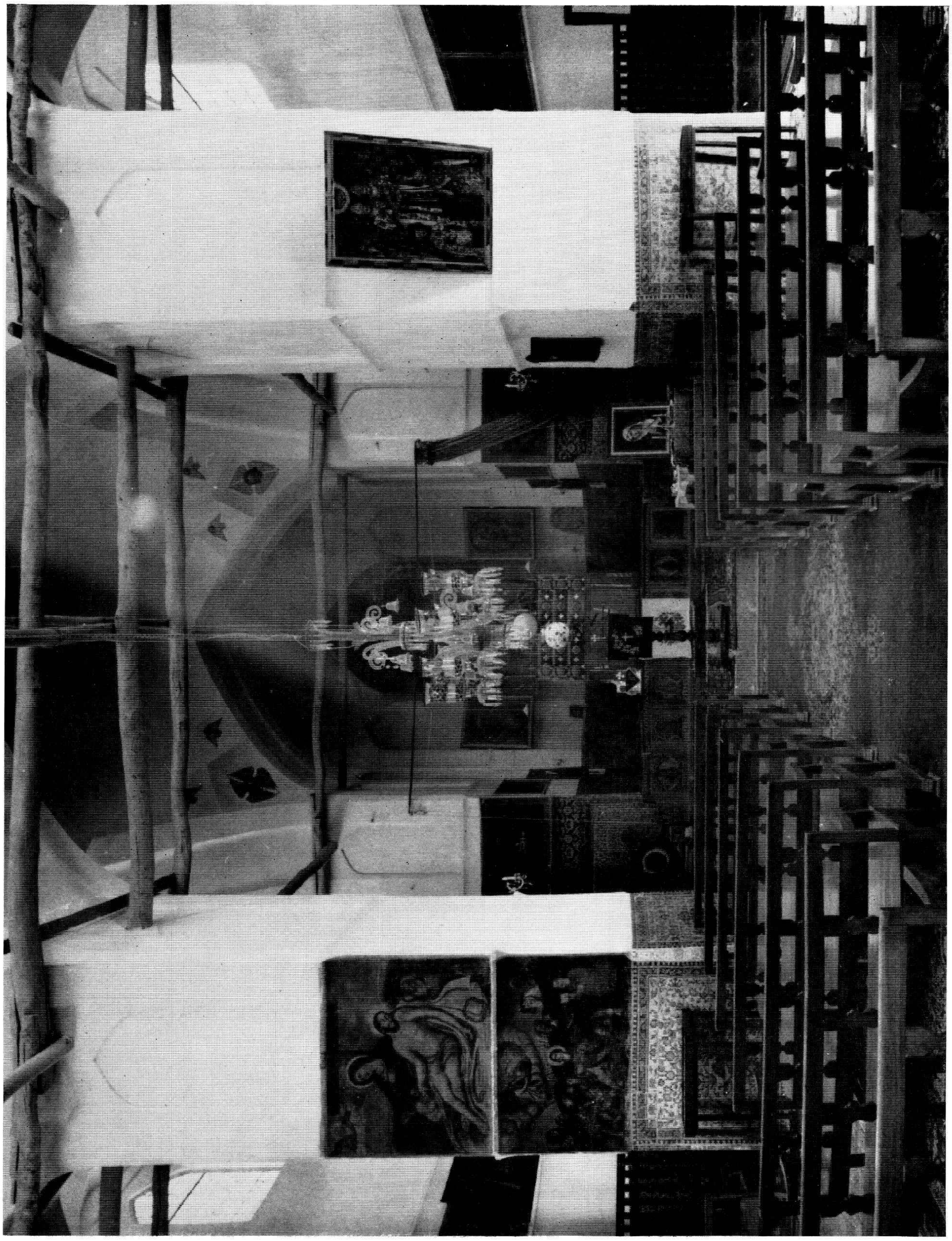


b c

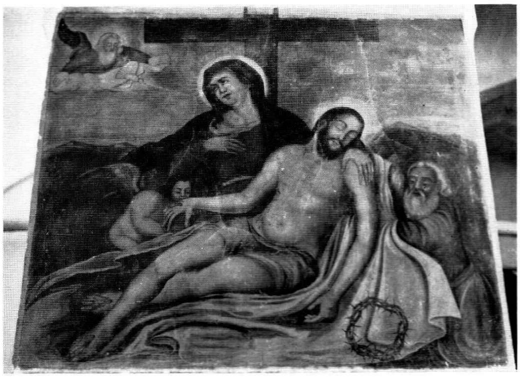
CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

a. *The Annunciation*; stucco panel above the north door; carved stone cross at centre dated 1642/3 A.D.
b. Street door, leading to courtyard. c. West end, showing buttresses

PLATE 28



CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN interior looking east



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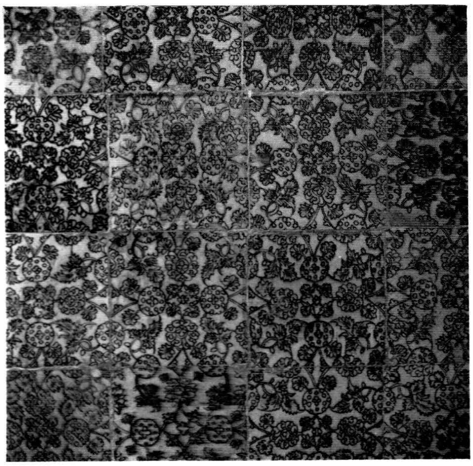

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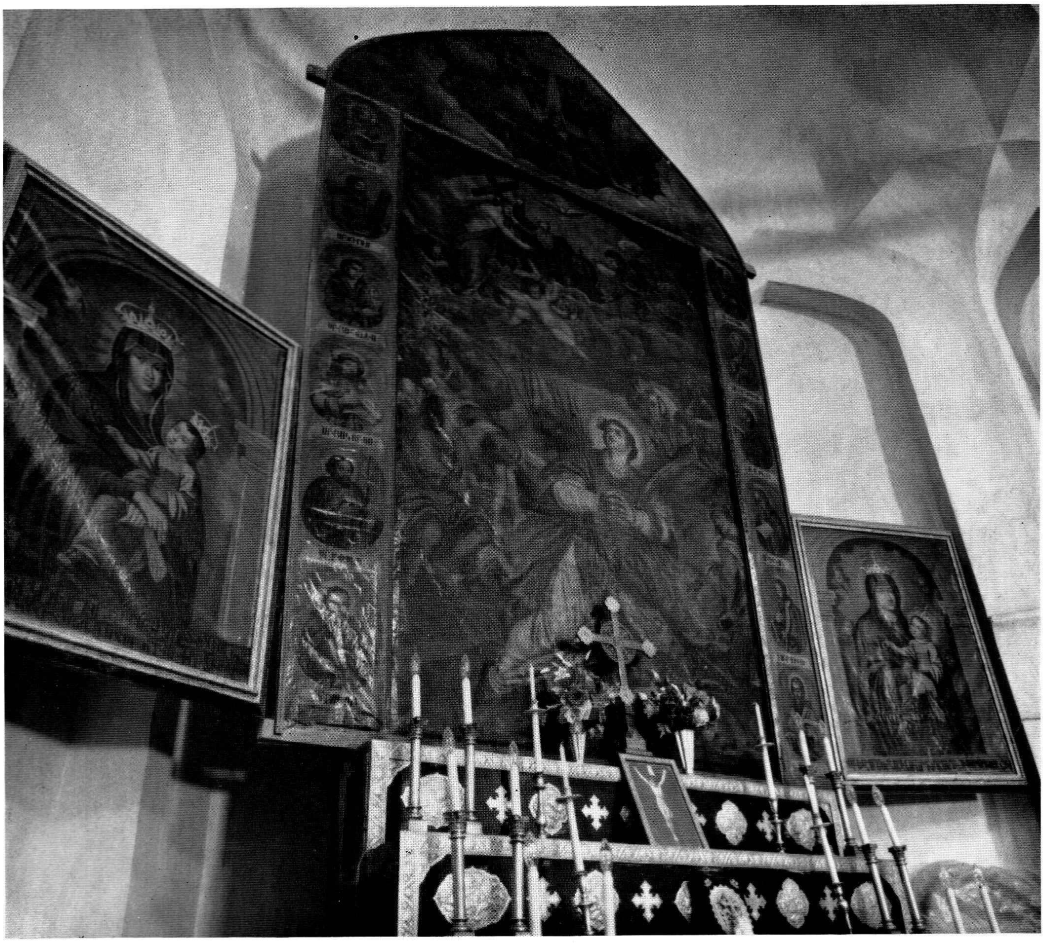


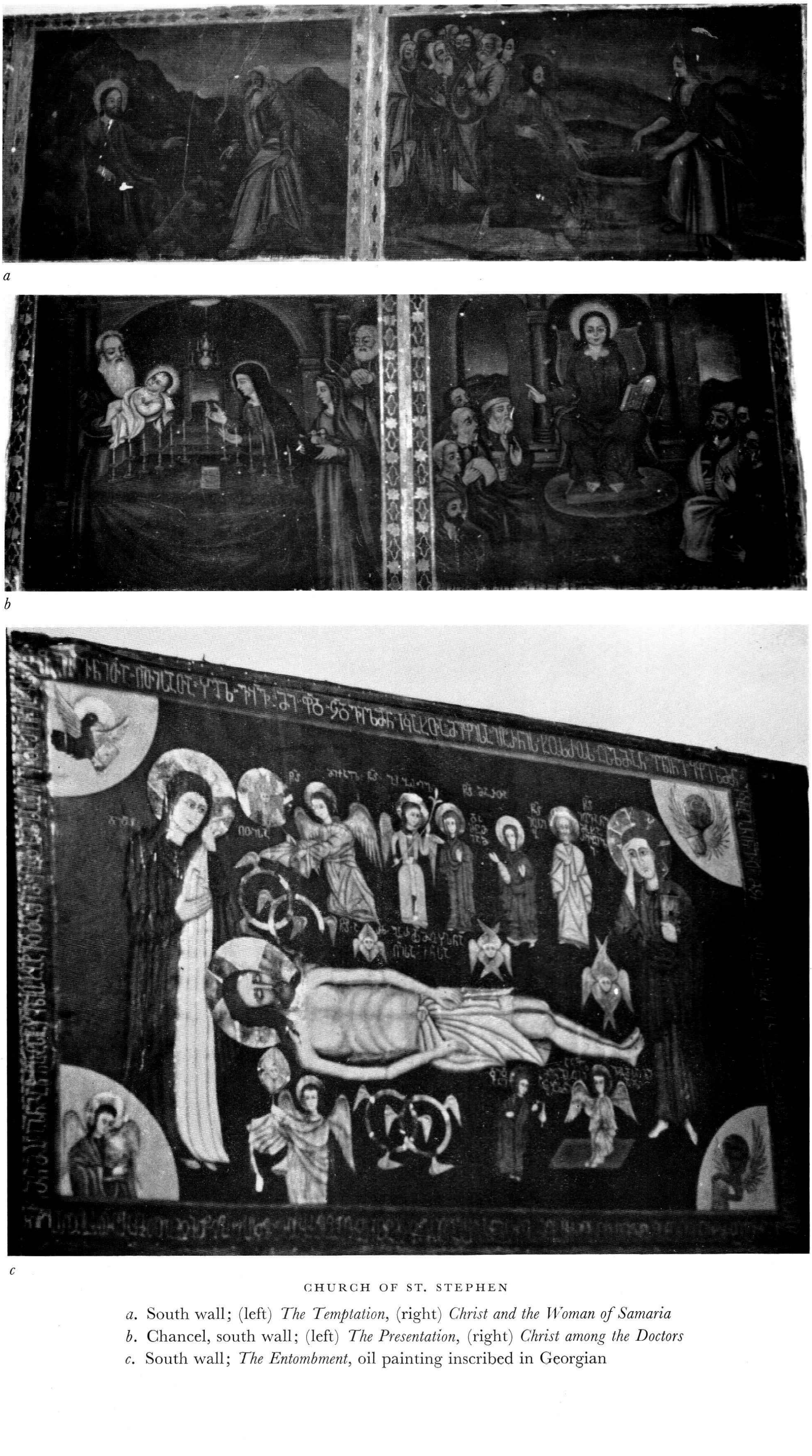
c

CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

a. *The Deposition*, west face of NE pier. b. NW and SW piers; underglaze blue decorated tiles, 18·5 cms. square

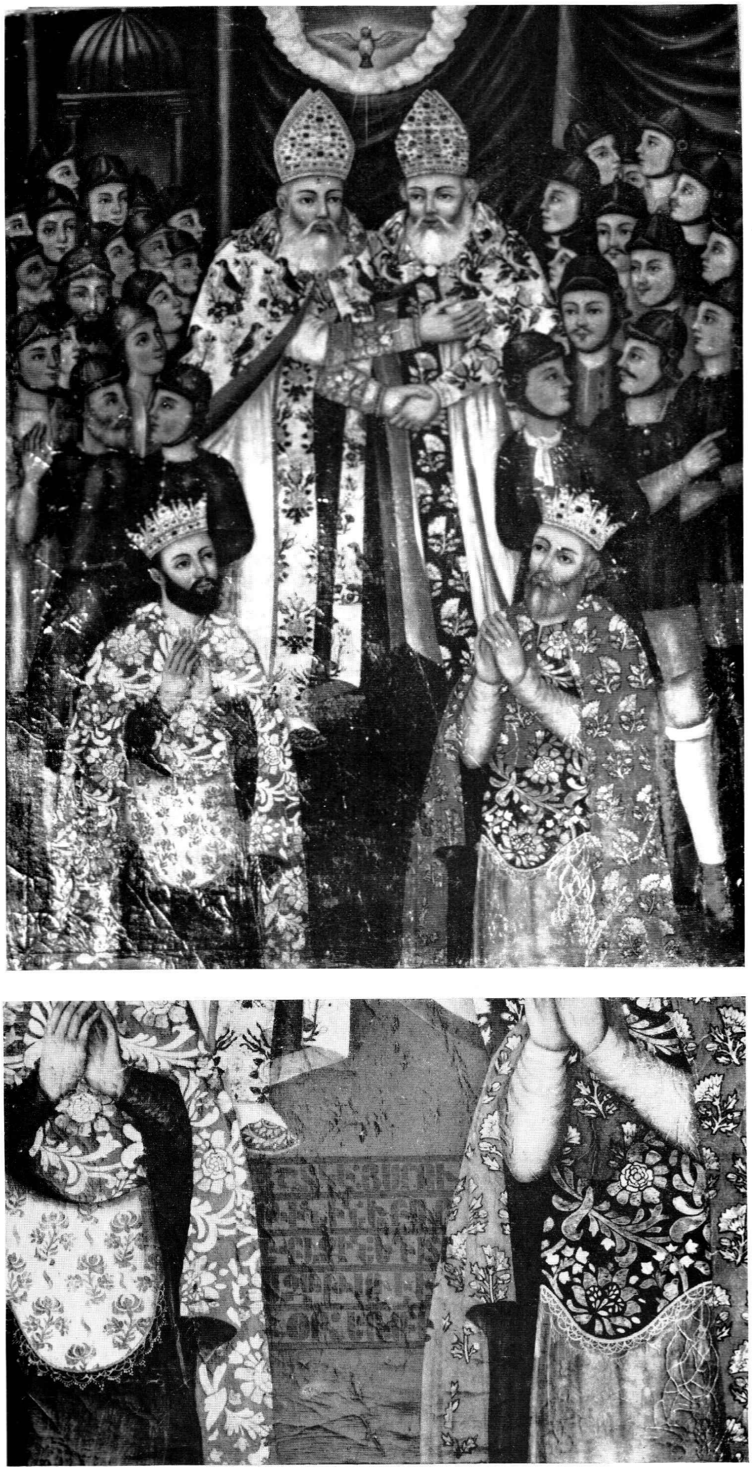
c. Oil painting, above the main altar, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, flanked by almost identical paintings of *The Madonna and Child*

PLATE 30



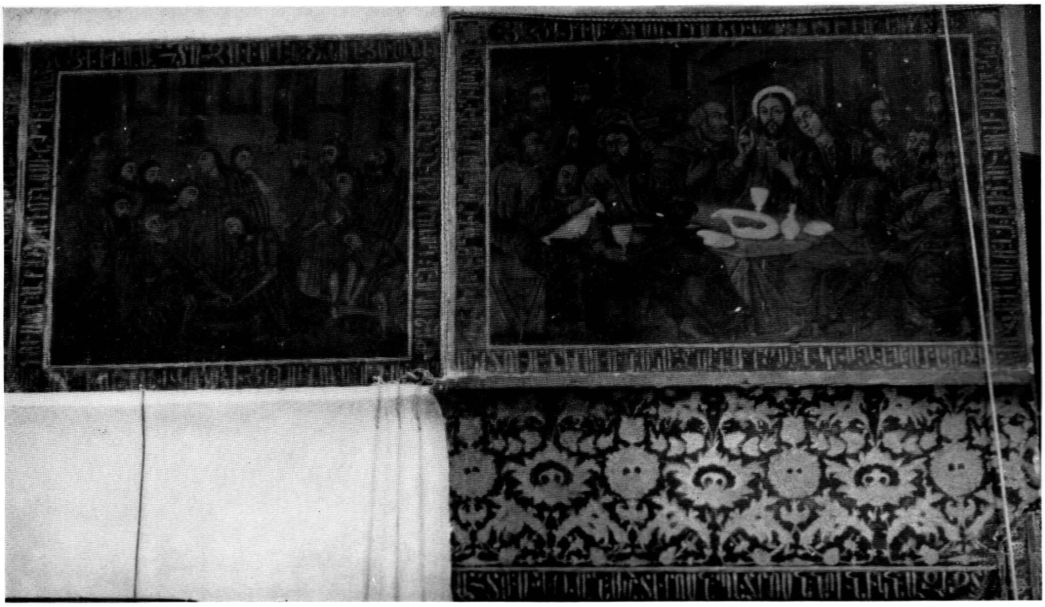
CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

a. South wall; (left) *The Temptation*, (right) *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*
b. Chancel, south wall; (left) *The Presentation*, (right) *Christ among the Doctors*
c. South wall; *The Entombment*, oil painting inscribed in Georgian



CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

oil painting hanging on west face of SE pier; (below) detail of inscription



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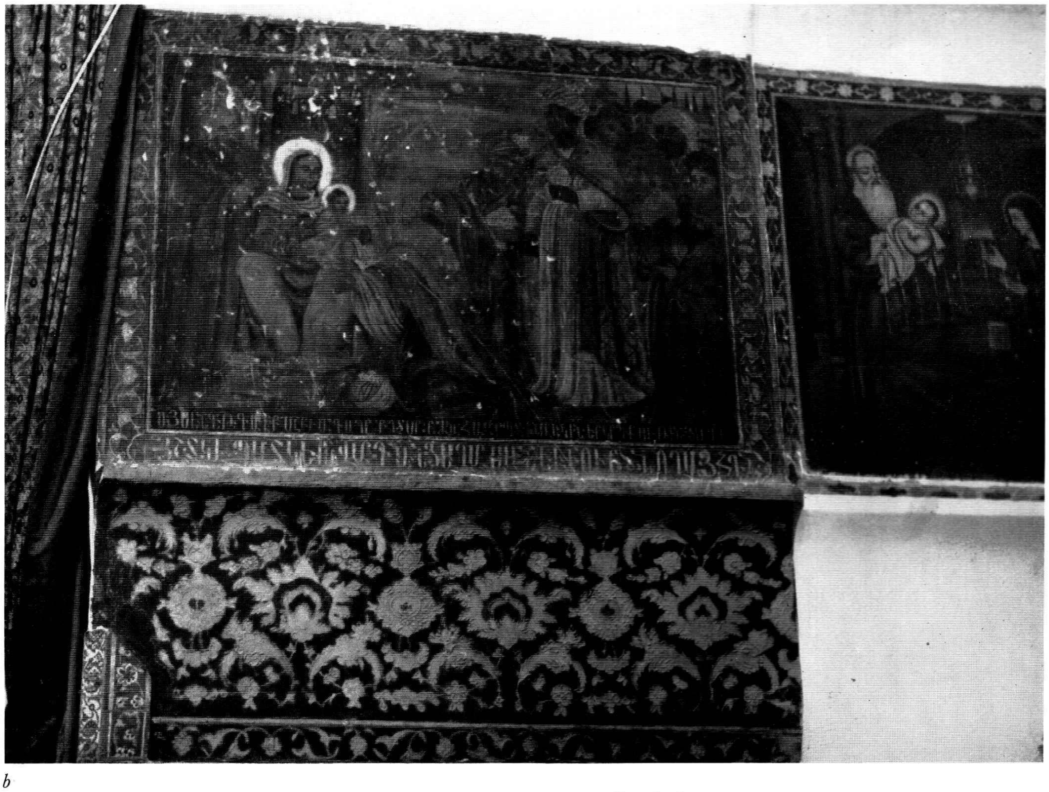
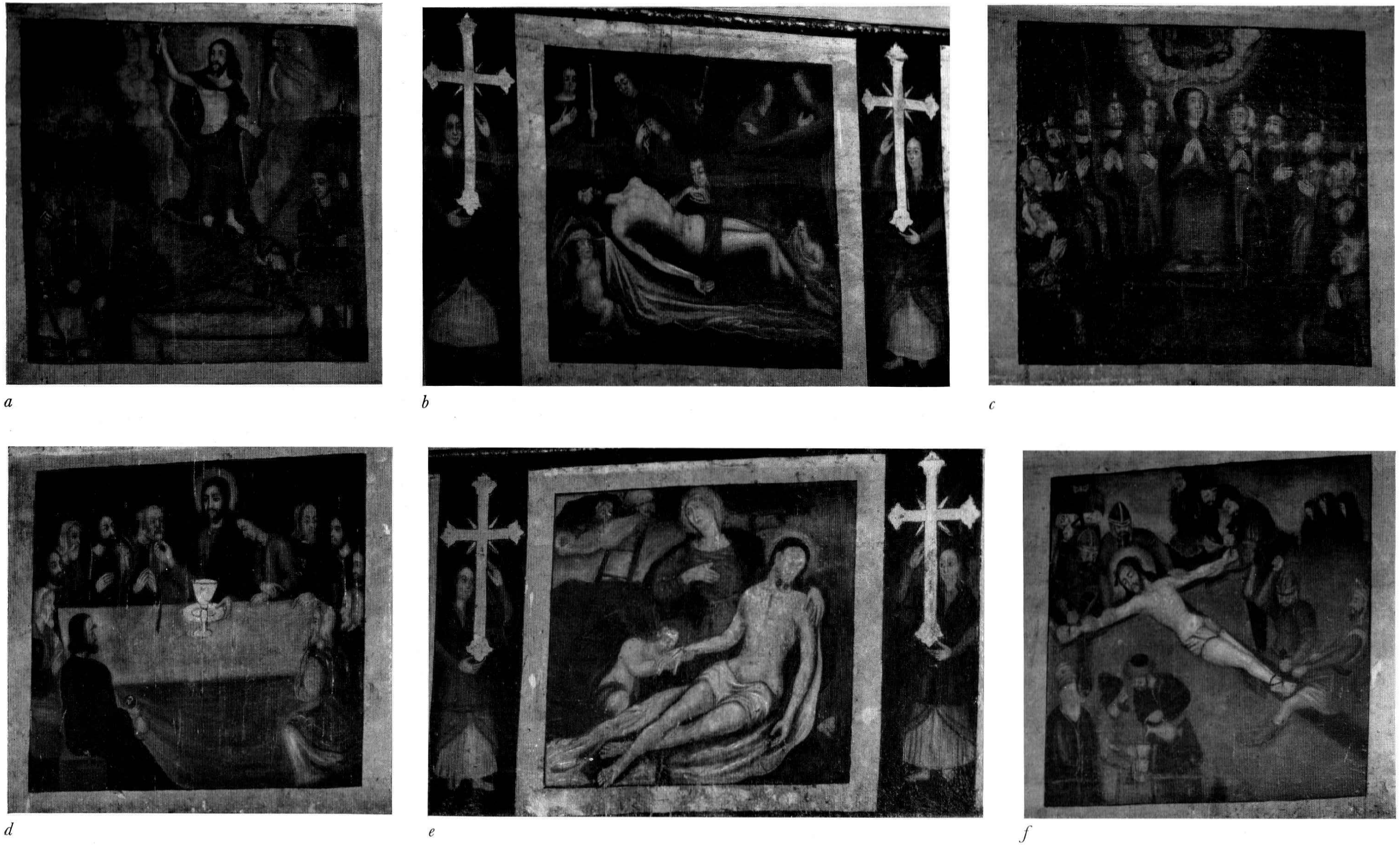


b

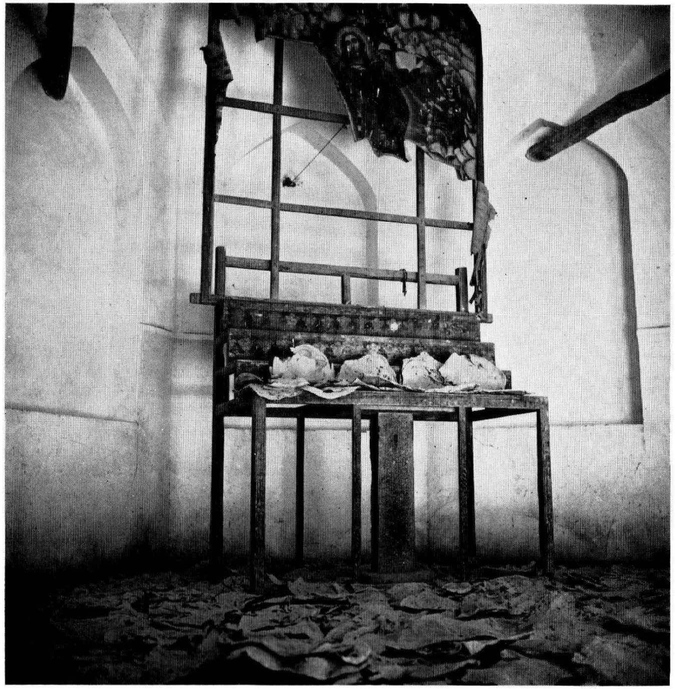
CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN wall paintings

a. Chancel, north side; *The Washing of the Feet* and *The Last Supper*; with stucco inscriptions
b. Chancel, south side; *The Adoration of the Magi*; with stucco inscriptions



CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN details from three oil paintings hanging above the south door; Julfa school

a. The Resurrection. b. The Enshrouding. c. The Madonna and the Apostles. d. The Last Supper. e. The Deposition. f. Christ nailed upon the Cross



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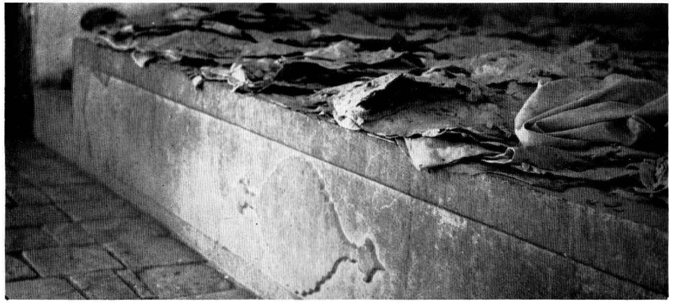

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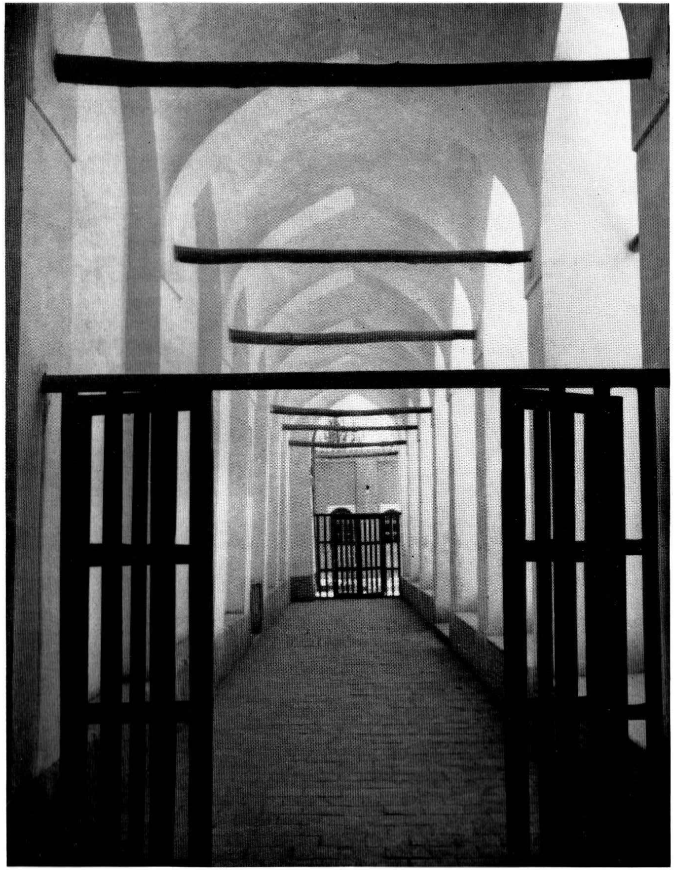
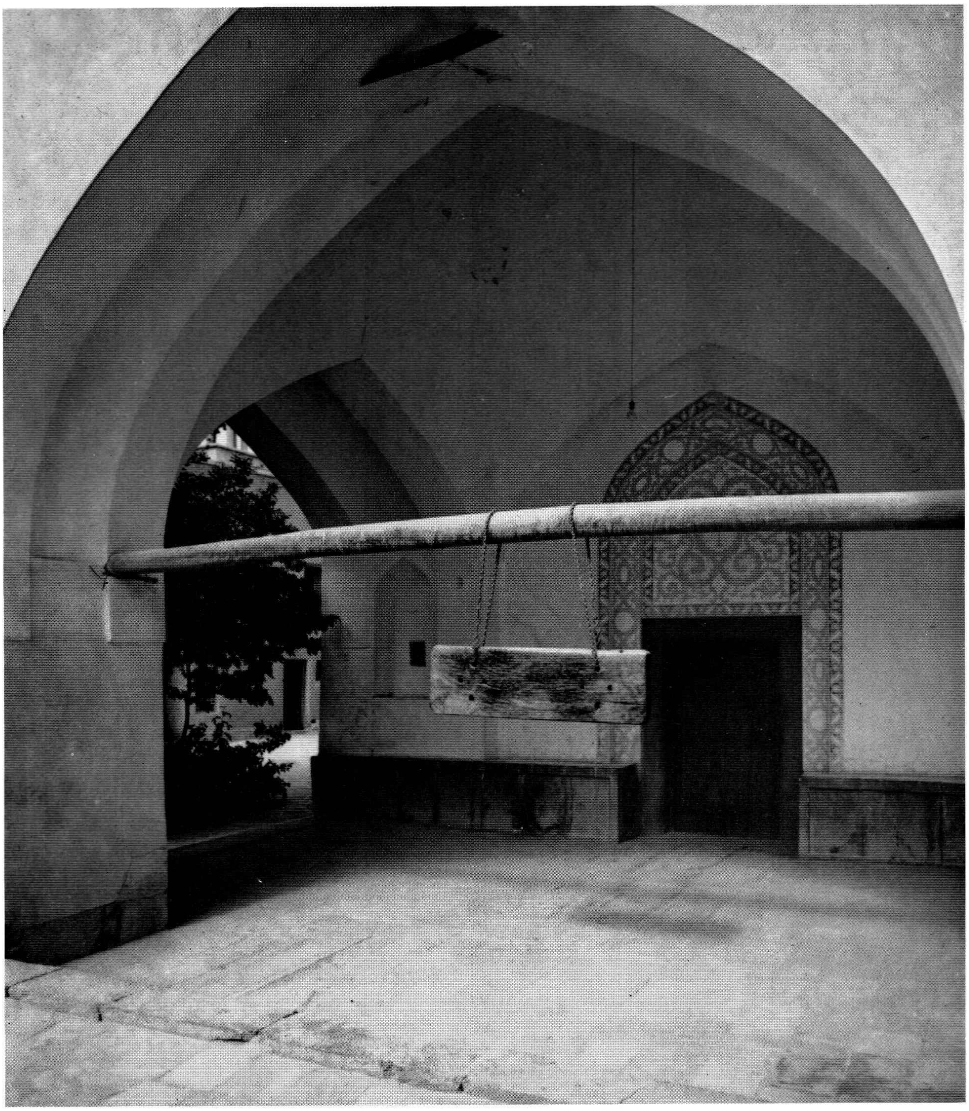


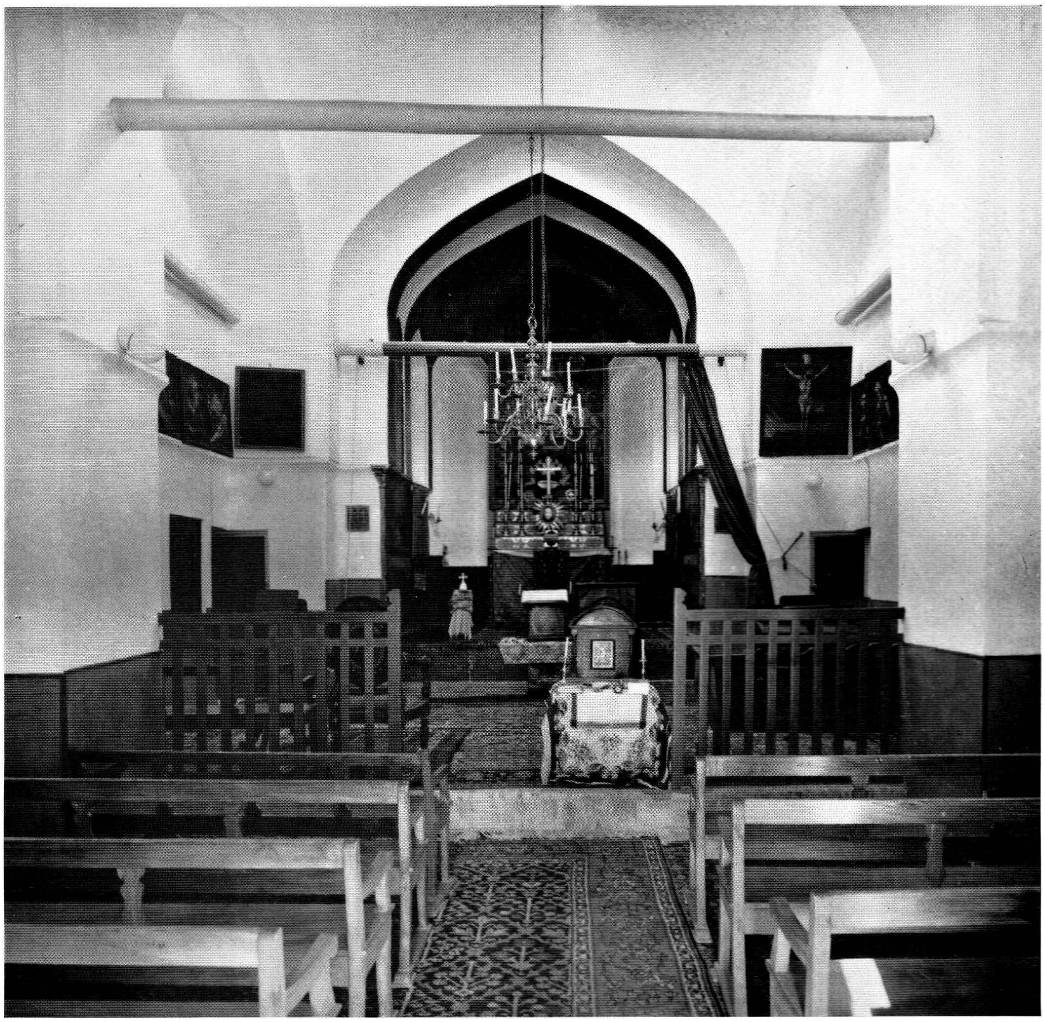
c

CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

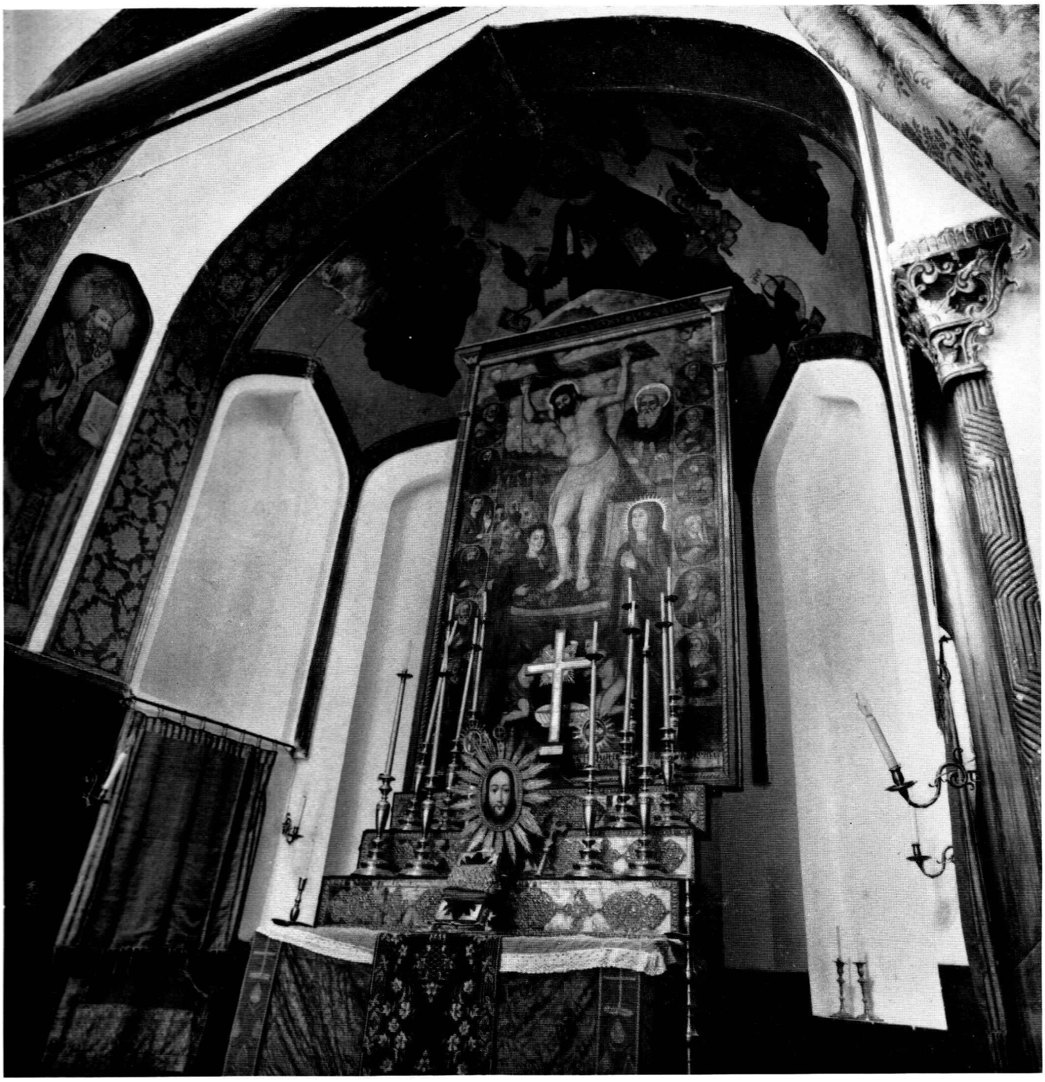
a. The altar in the annexe chapel, now used as a bread store
b. The annexe chapel; raised chancel with carved stone front
c. Vaulted arcade on north side of the church



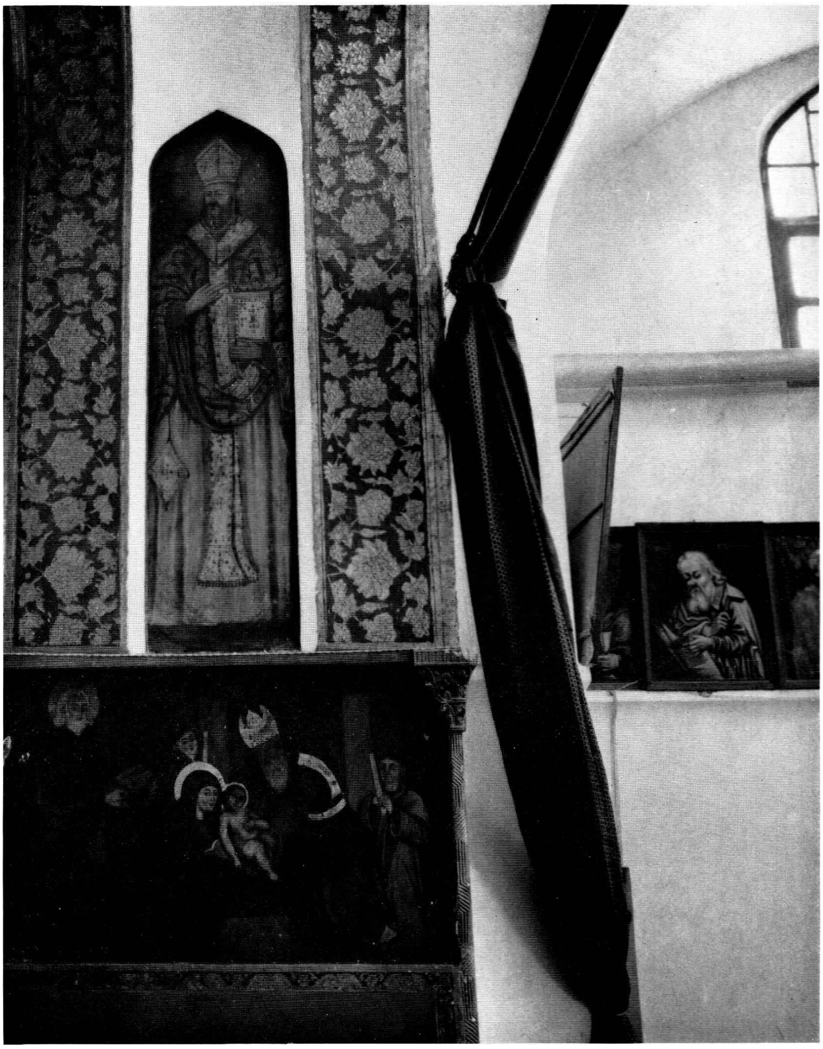
CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE west door, with the *simandrum* (wooden bell) hanging in the porch



CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE interior looking east



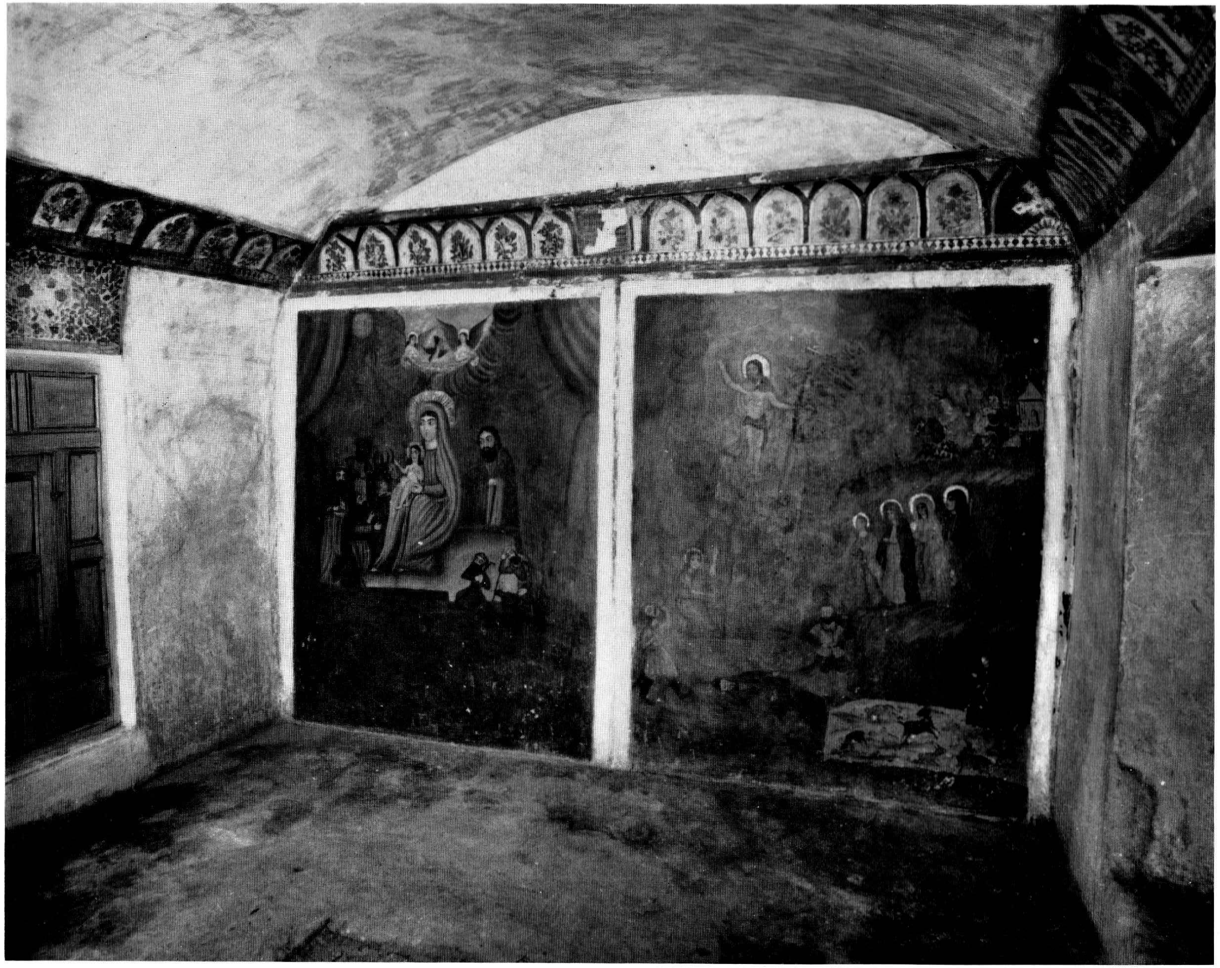
CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE the altar
oil painting, *Christ carrying the Cross*; above, wall painting of *Christ in Glory with the Evangelists, Saints and Angels*



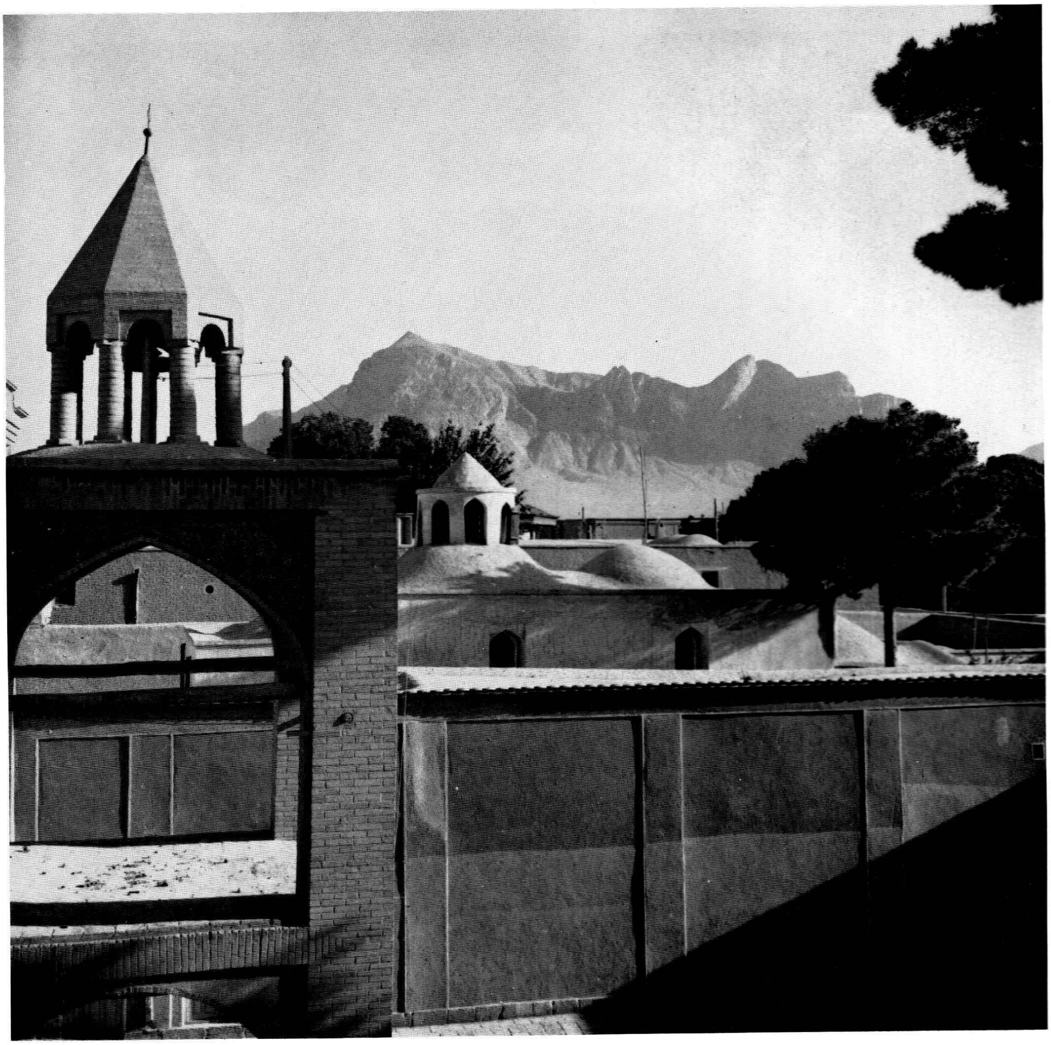
CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE chancel, south side

wall paintings of a *Saint*, and *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*; and stucco decoration

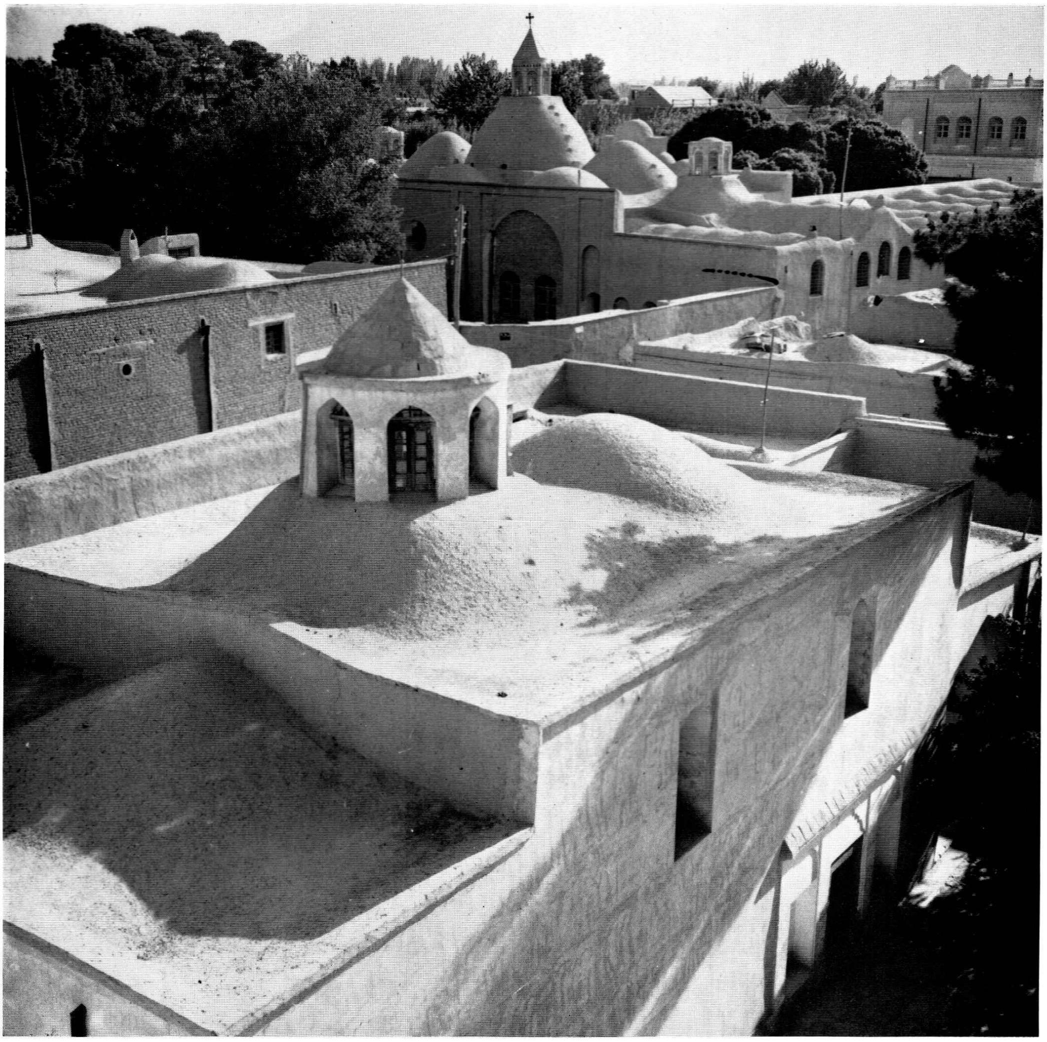
PLATE 39



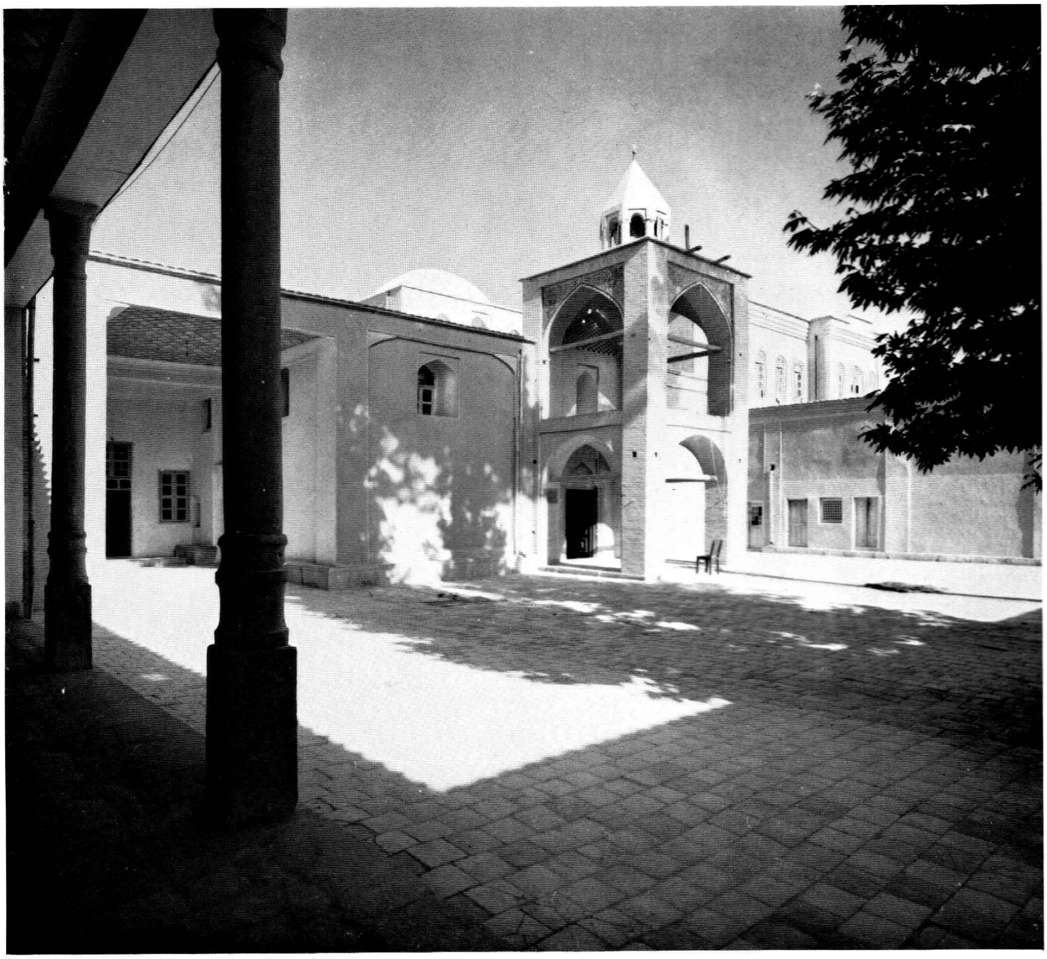
THE NUNNERY painted cell; (left) *The Adoration of the Magi,* (right) *The Resurrection*



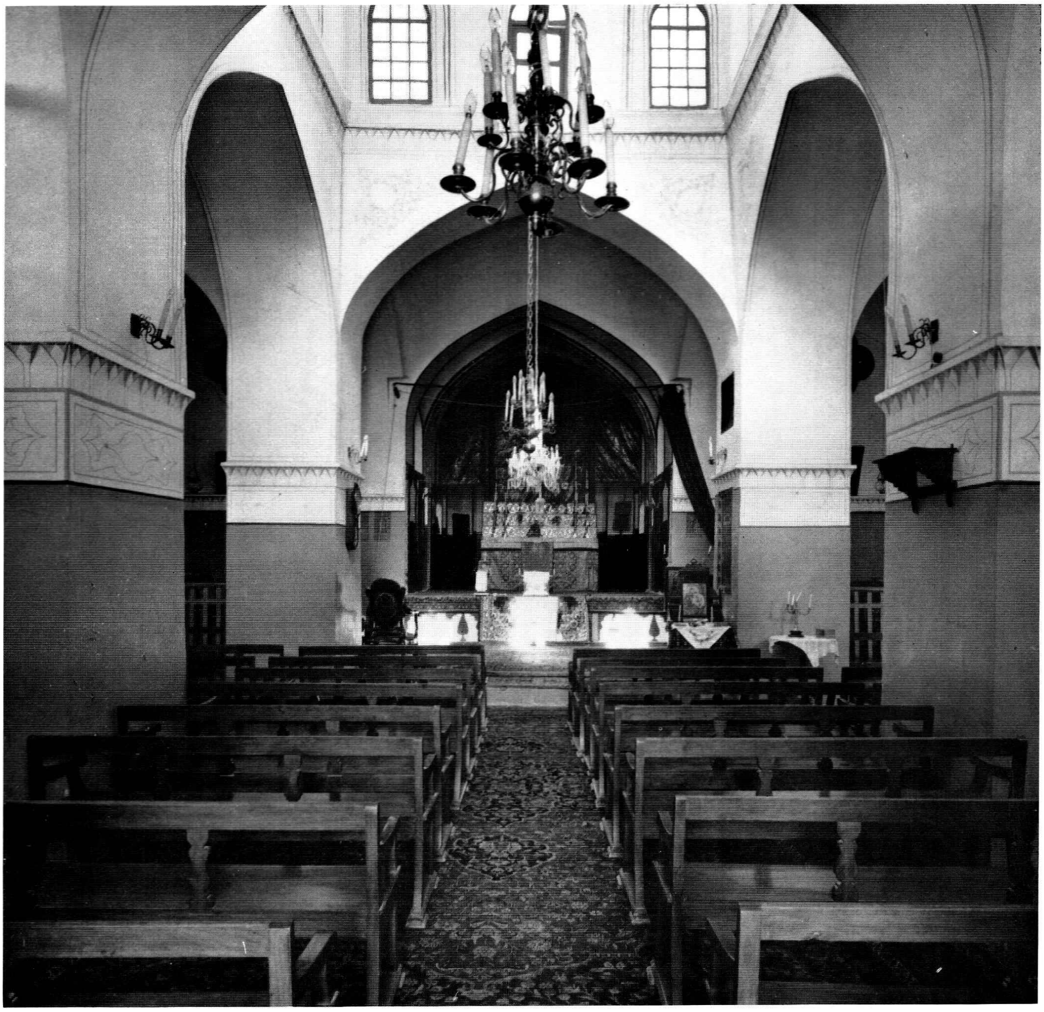
View looking south towards the CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE
with the belfry of the CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST



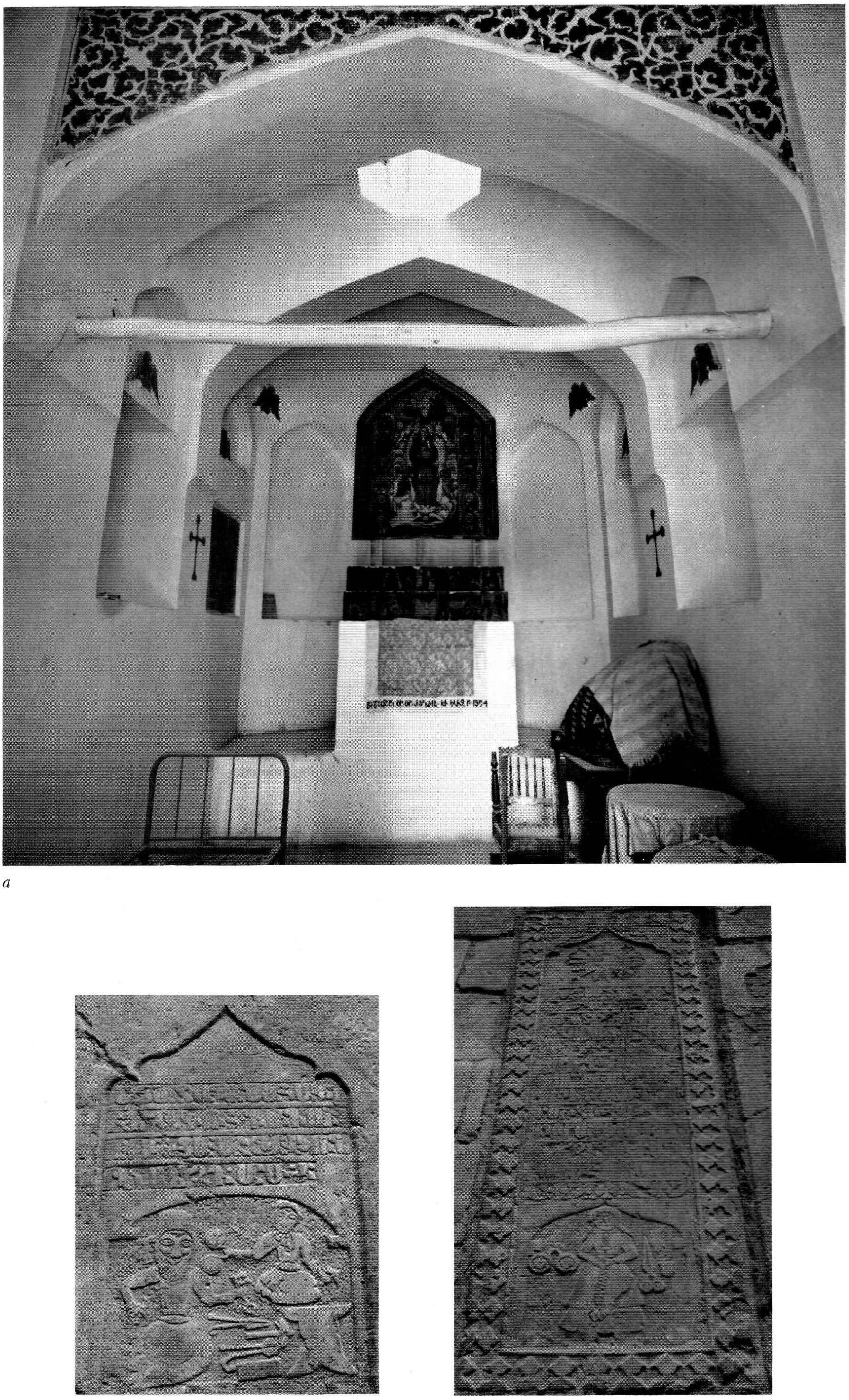
View looking SW, with the roof of the CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE in the foreground



CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST exterior from the NW



CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST interior looking east



a

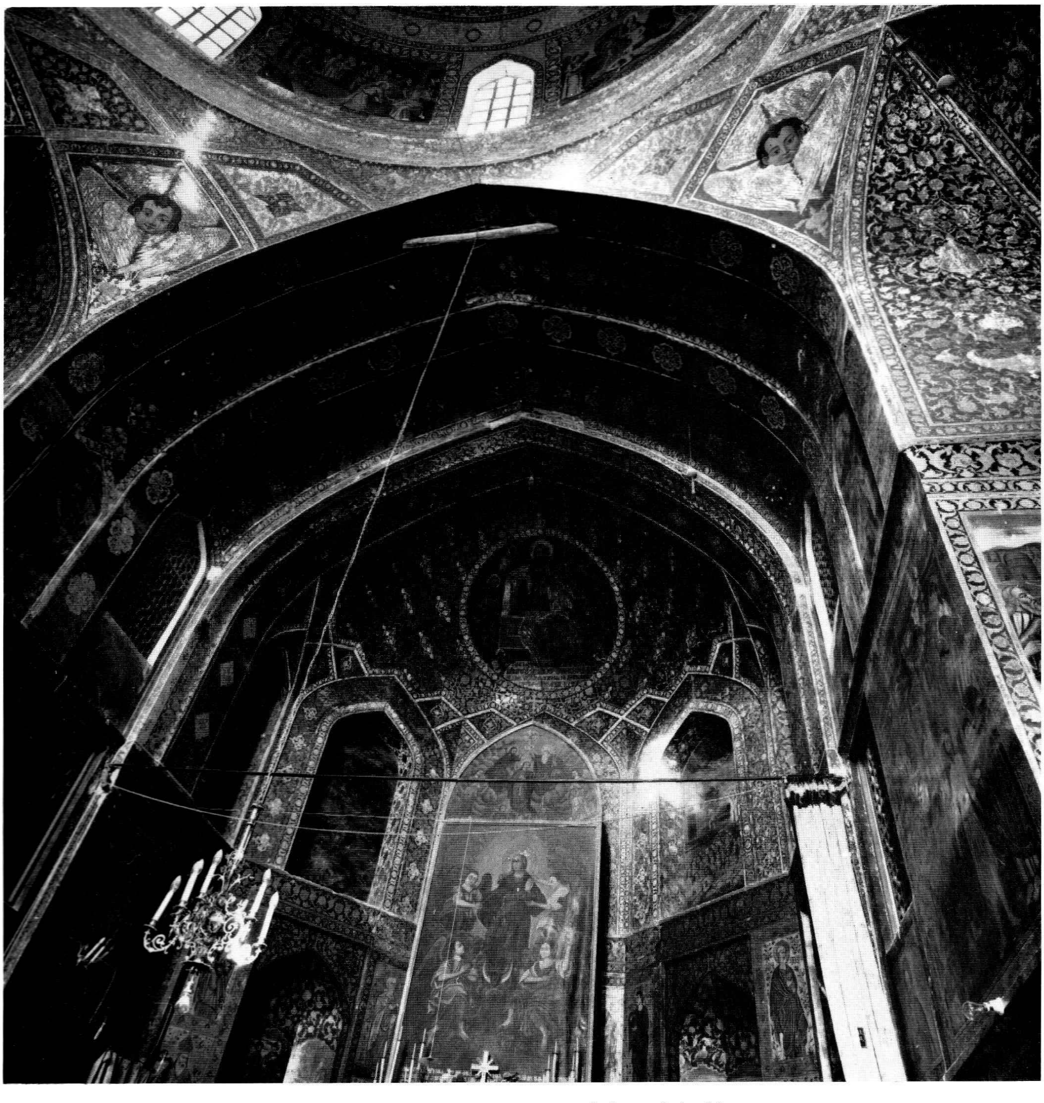
b

c

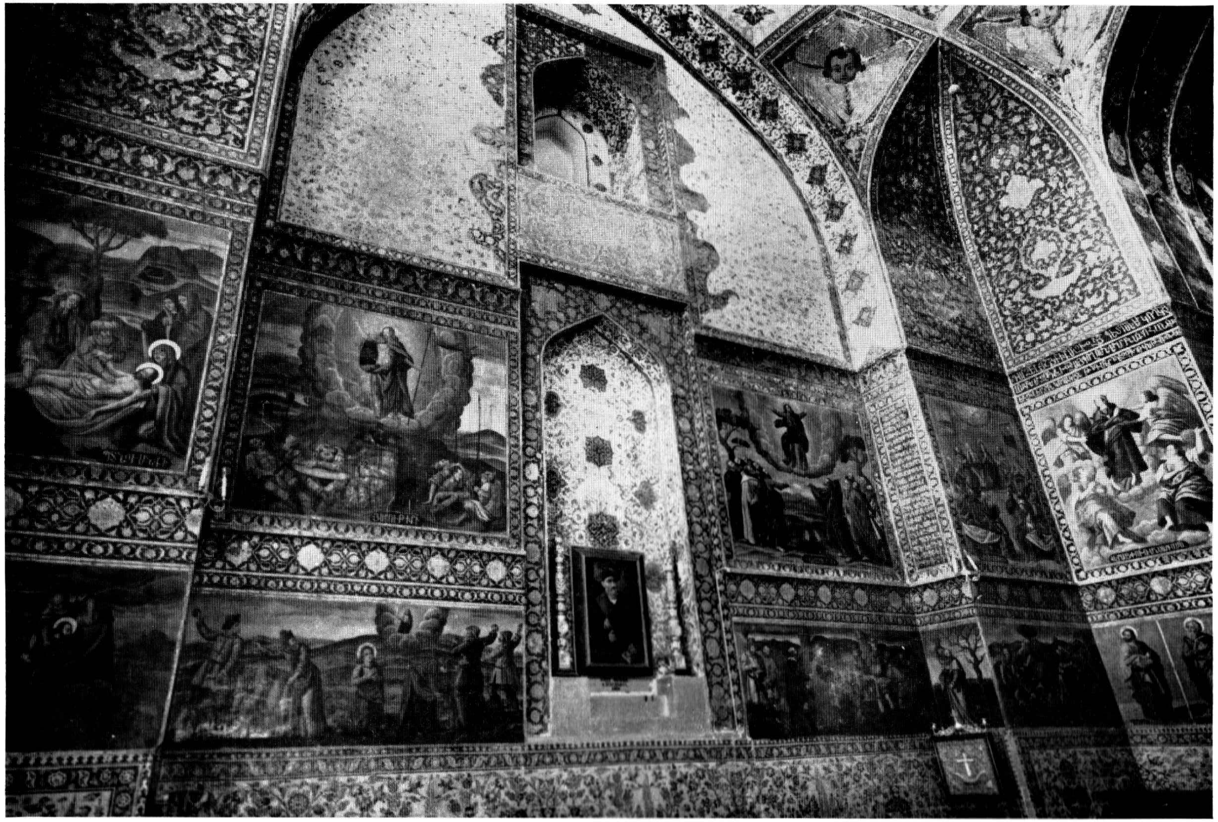
CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

a. The annexe chapel, interior looking east

b. and *c.* Carved tombstones in the courtyard; *b*, 1734 A.D.

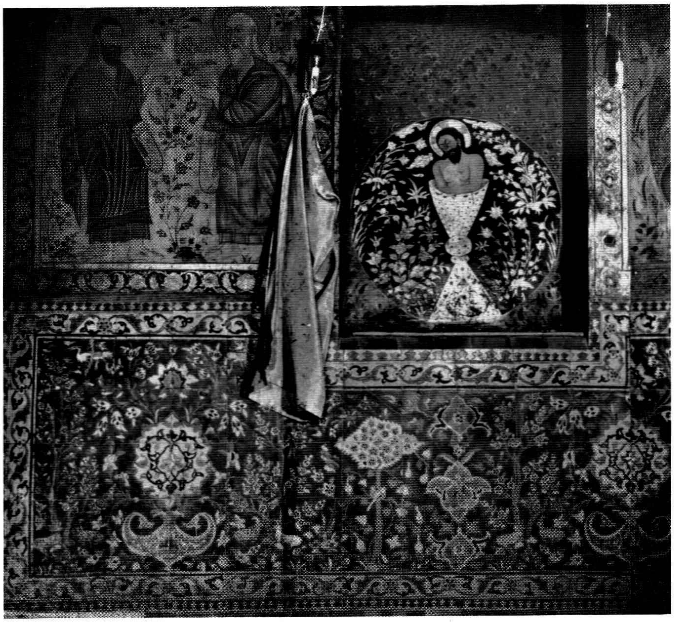


BETHLEHEM CHURCH upper part of chancel, looking east



BETHLEHEM CHURCH north wall

(upper band) wall paintings of *The Enshrouding*, *The Resurrection*, *Christ appearing to the Disciples*, *The Last Supper*, *The Madonna in Glory*
(lower band) *Christ walking on the Waves*, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, (unidentified subject) *The Temptation*
In the centre, an oil painting of the church's benefactor, *Khodja Petros Velidjanian*



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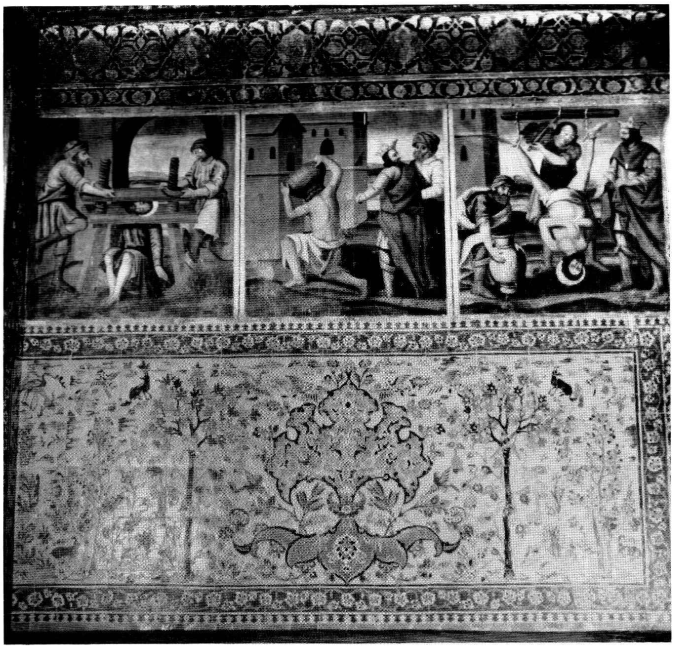
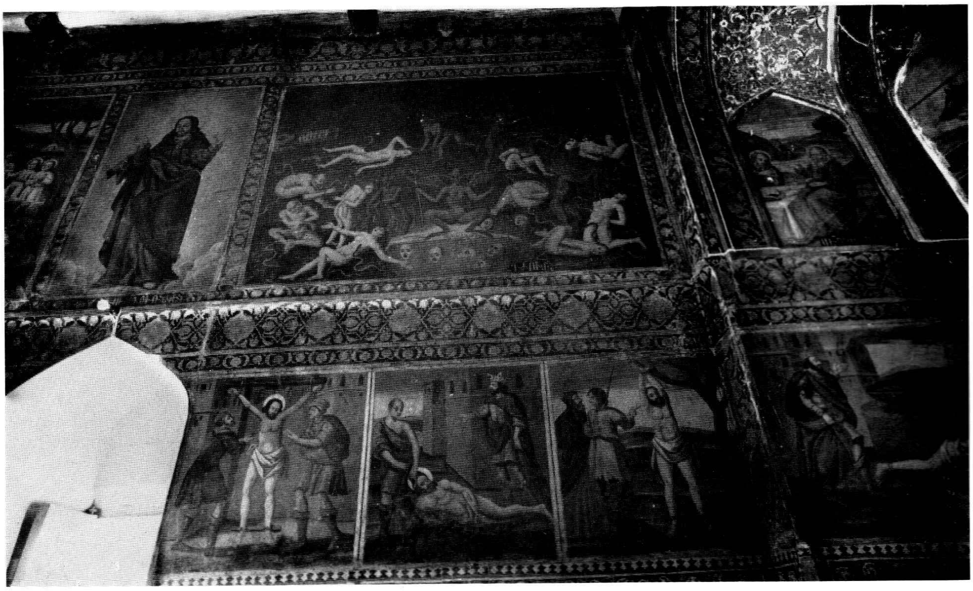


b

BETHLEHEM CHURCH

a. Chancel wall, north side; paintings on plaster of two *Saints*, and *Christ Supported by a Chalice*, with gold decoration; below, tile frieze

b. West wall; scenes from *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, with stucco decoration above, and a tile frieze below



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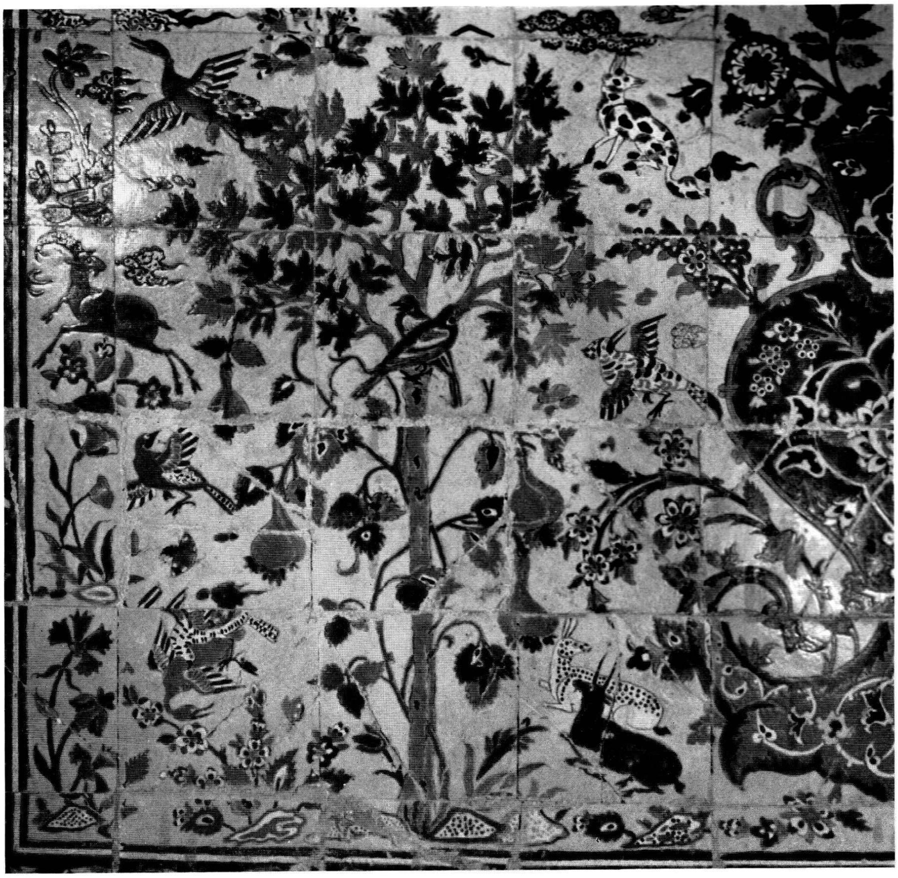
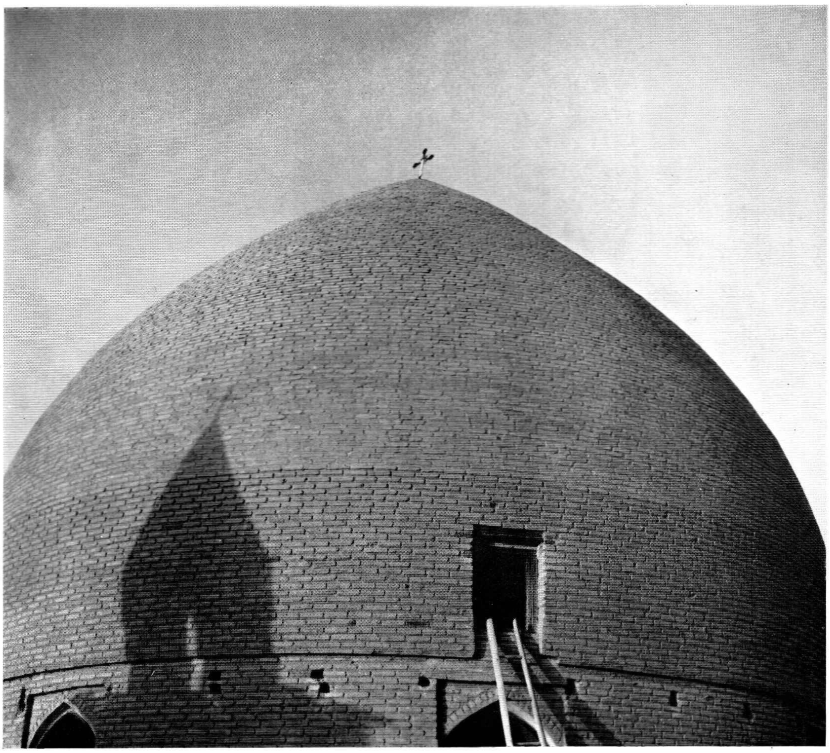


b

BETHLEHEM CHURCH

a. West wall; paintings of *Christ in Glory; Hell*; and *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator*
b. Tile frieze, detail



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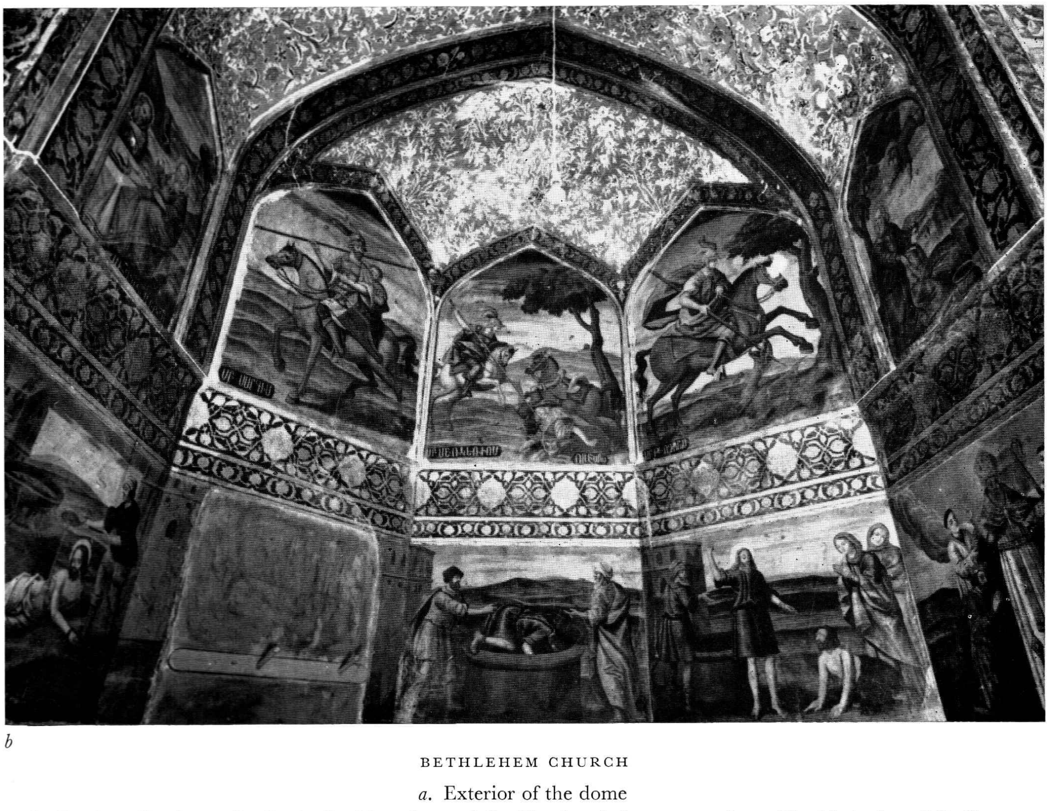
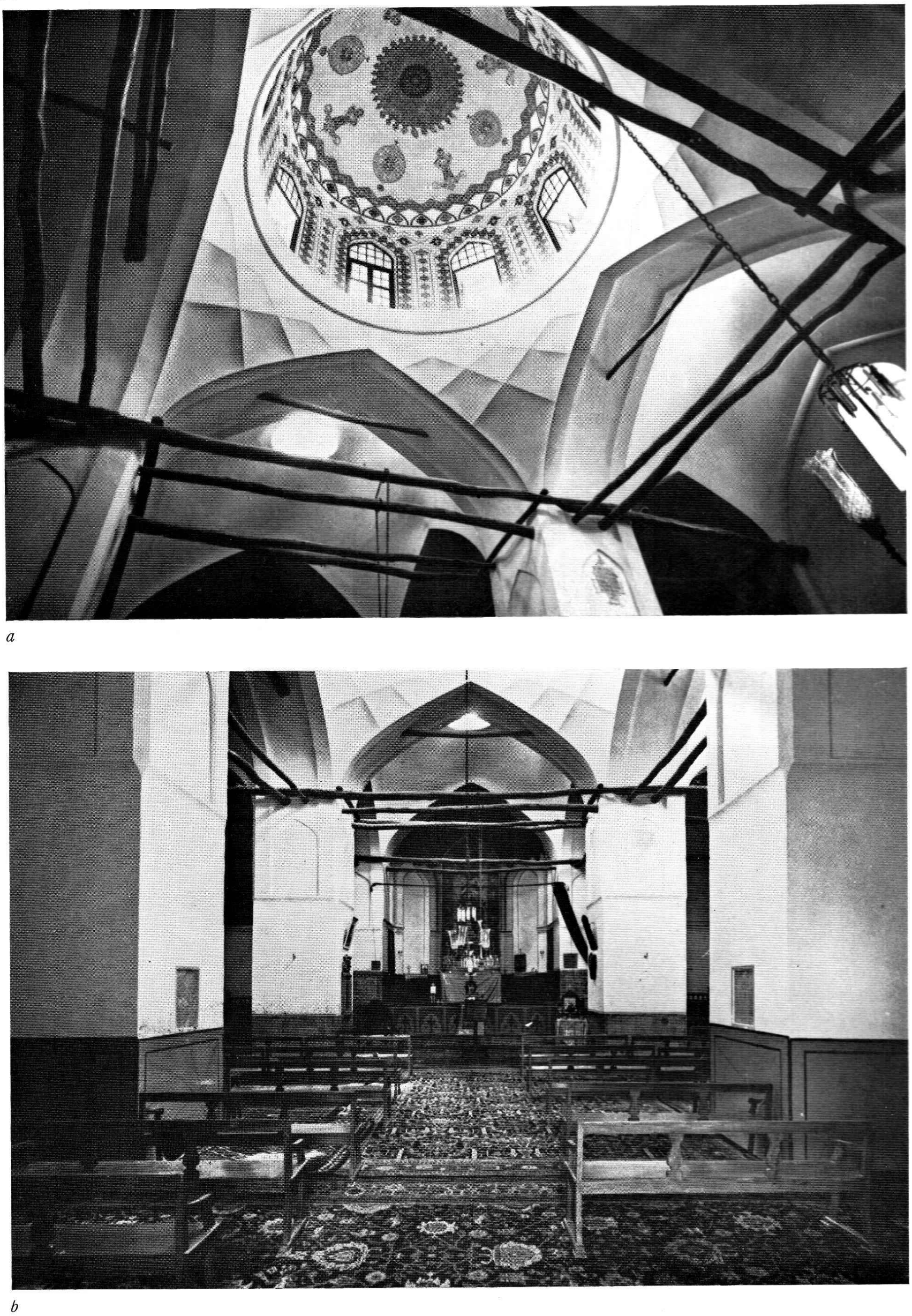


b

BETHLEHEM CHURCH

a. Exterior of the dome

b. North wall; above, *St. Sargis, St. Mercurius,* and *St. Theodore*; below, scenes from *The Martyrdom of St. Gregory the Illuminator*

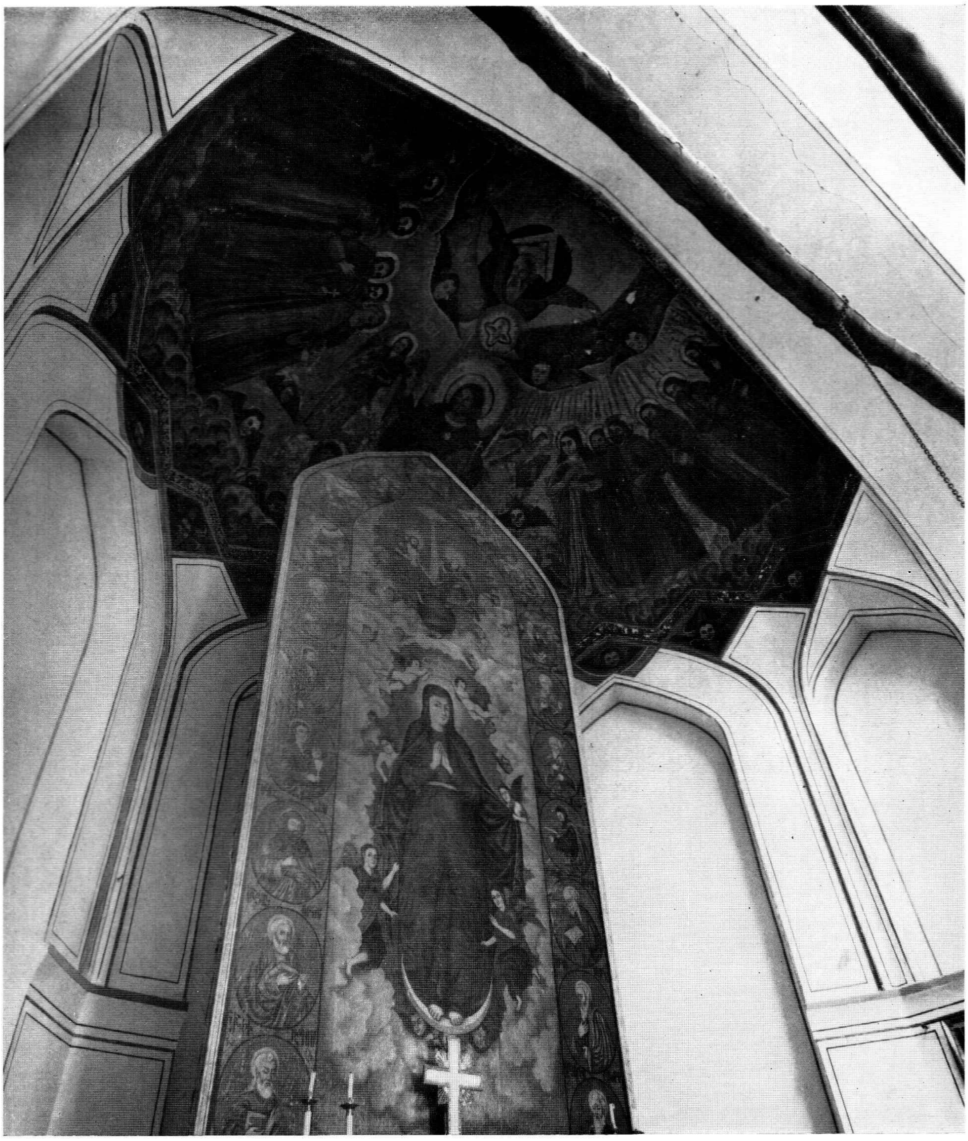


a

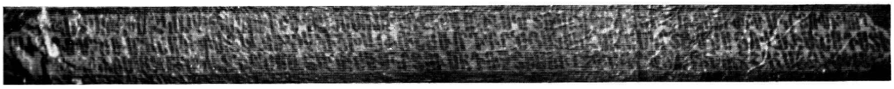
b

CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS

a. Interior of dome, looking east
b. Interior, looking east



a



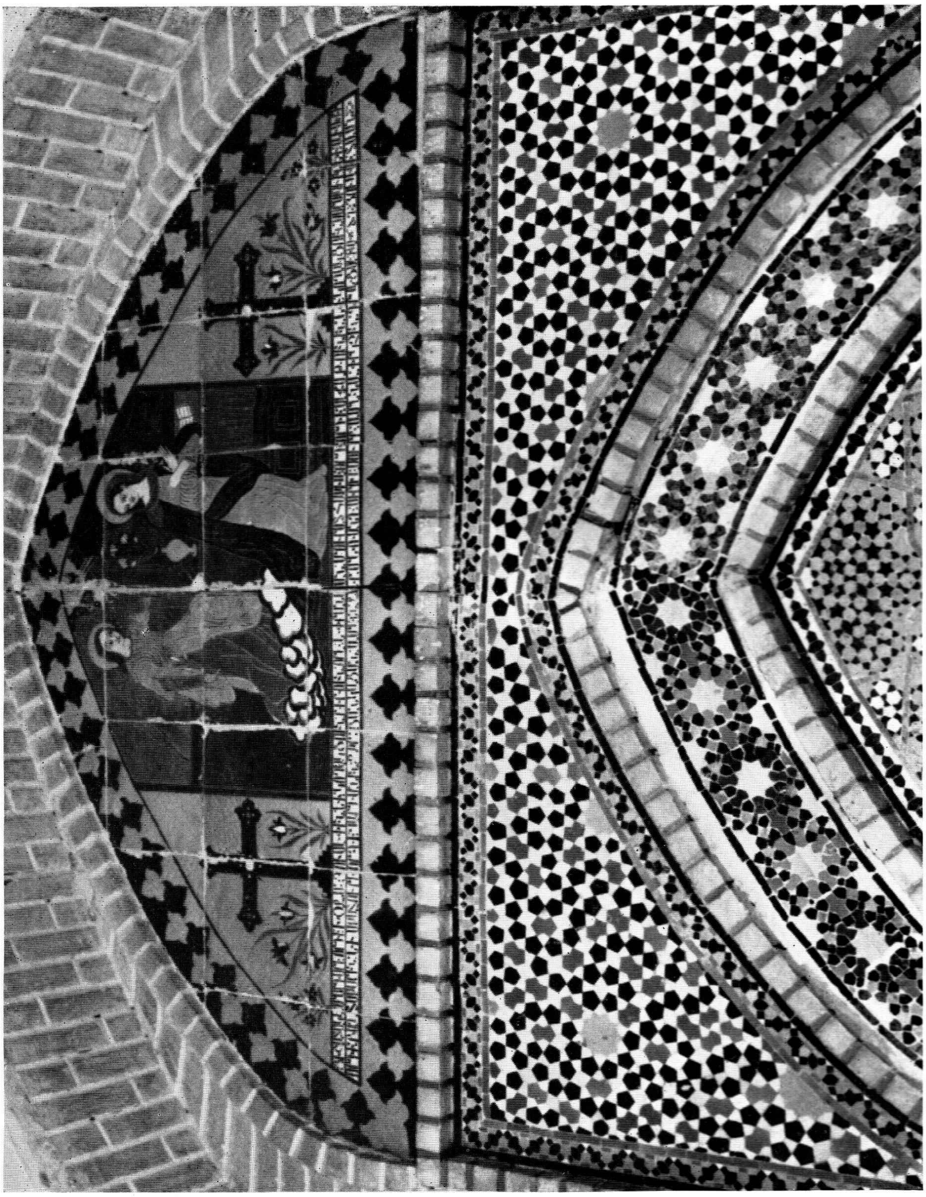
b

CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS the altar

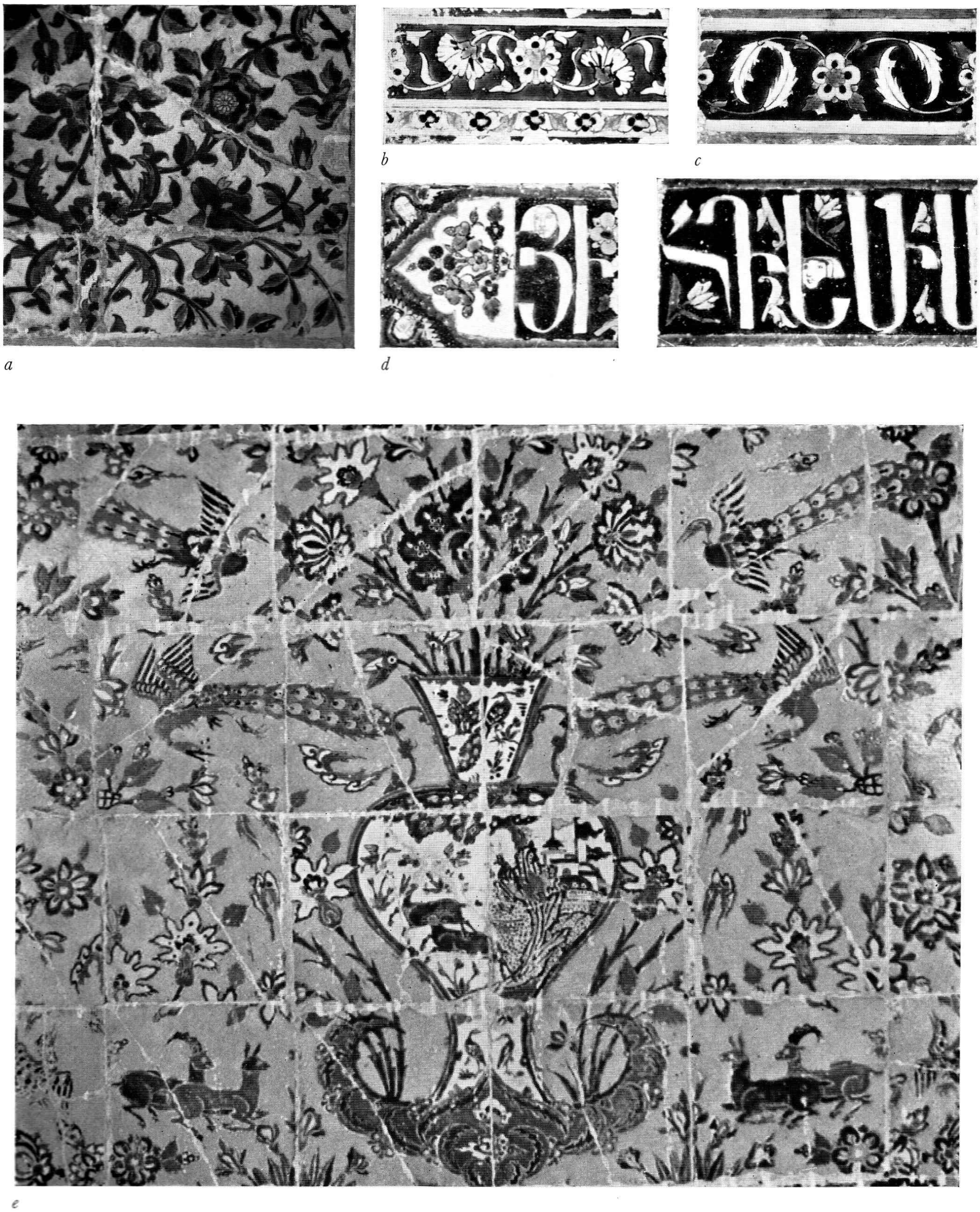
a. *The Madonna, Angels, and Saints*, oil painting, 1725 A.D. Above, wall painting of *Christ in Glory with God the Father, the Evangelists, Saints and Angels*

b. Detail of inscription at foot of altar painting, dated 1725 A.D.

PLATE 52



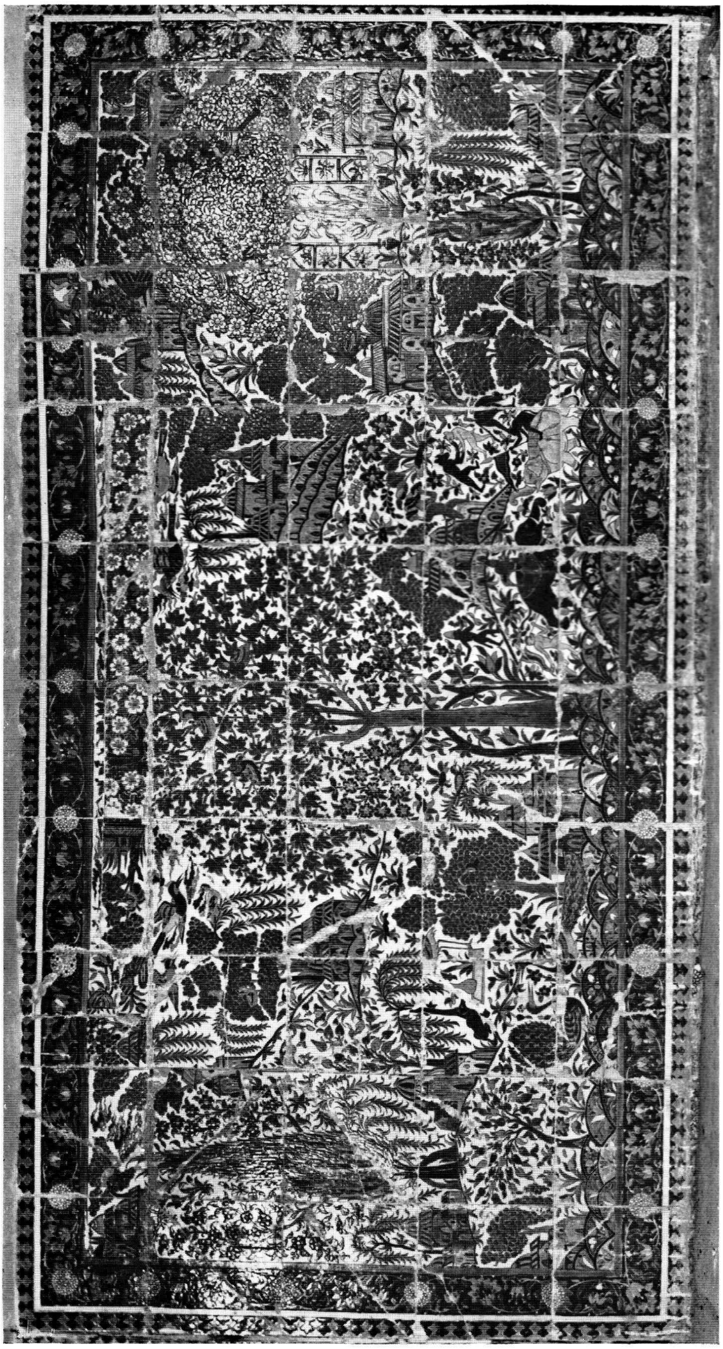
CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS *The Annunciation,* tile panel above the south door, dated 1705 A.D.



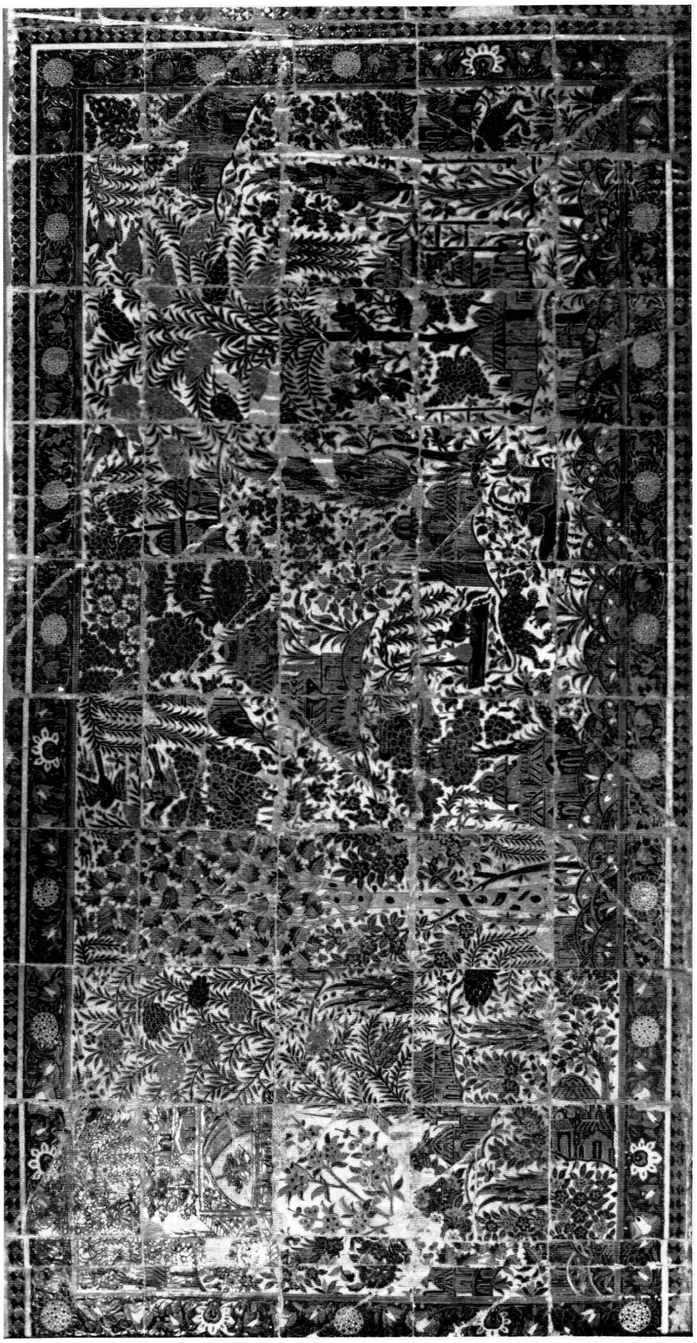
CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS

a. Tiles on north wall, 22·5 cms. square; detail
b. Border tiles, east face of SW pier; 22 by 11 cms.
c. Border tiles, south wall; 23 by 12 cms.
d. Two fragments of an inscribed tile, north wall
e. Detail of blue-and-white vase motif; tile frieze flanking the chancel

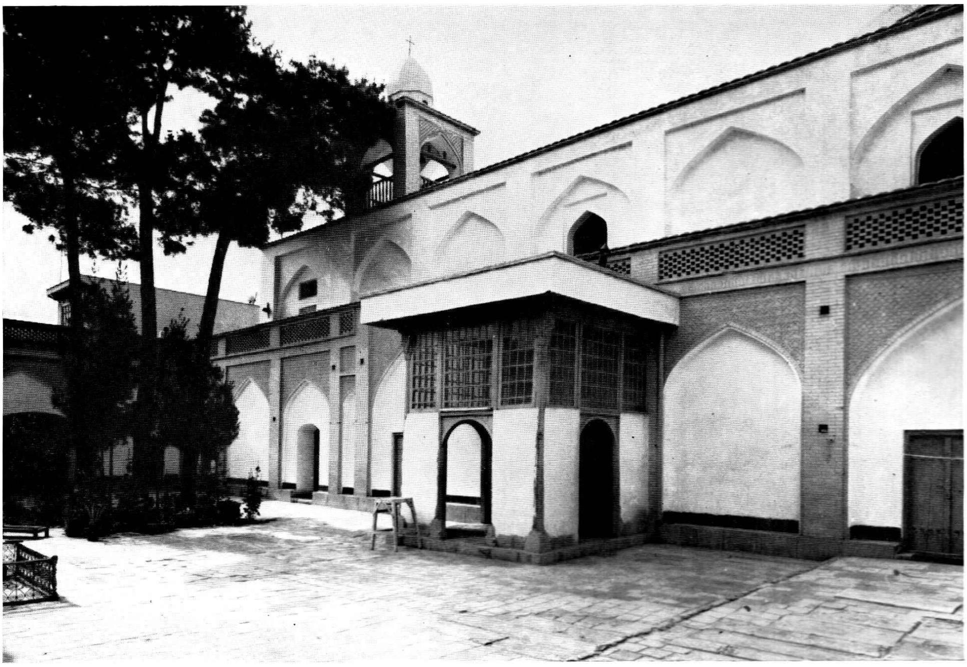
PLATE 54



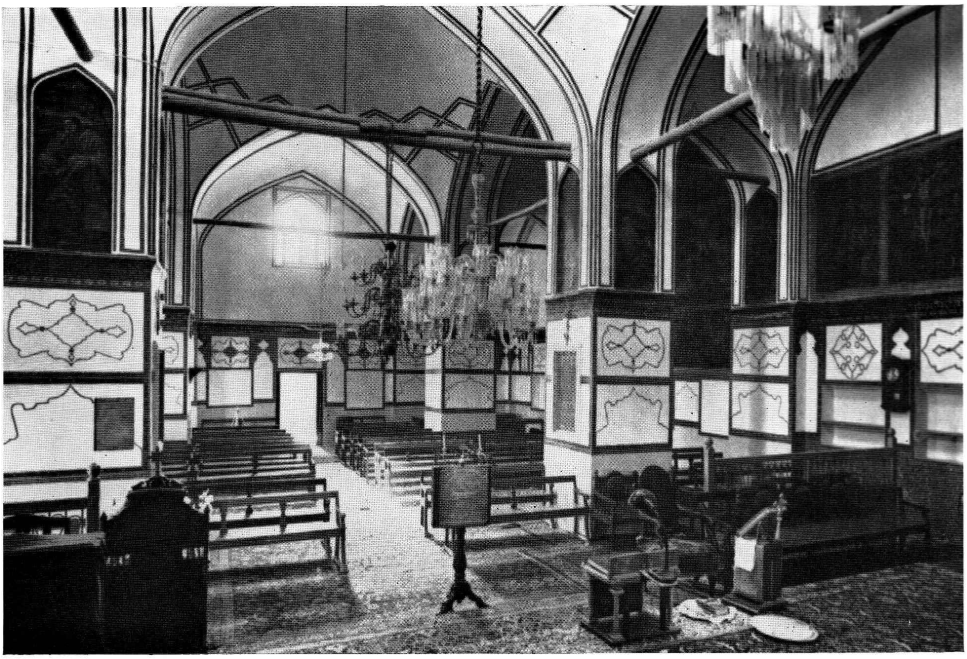
CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS north wall; frieze of tiles, each 22 cms. square



CHURCH OF ST. SARGIS north wall; frieze of tiles, each 22 cms. square



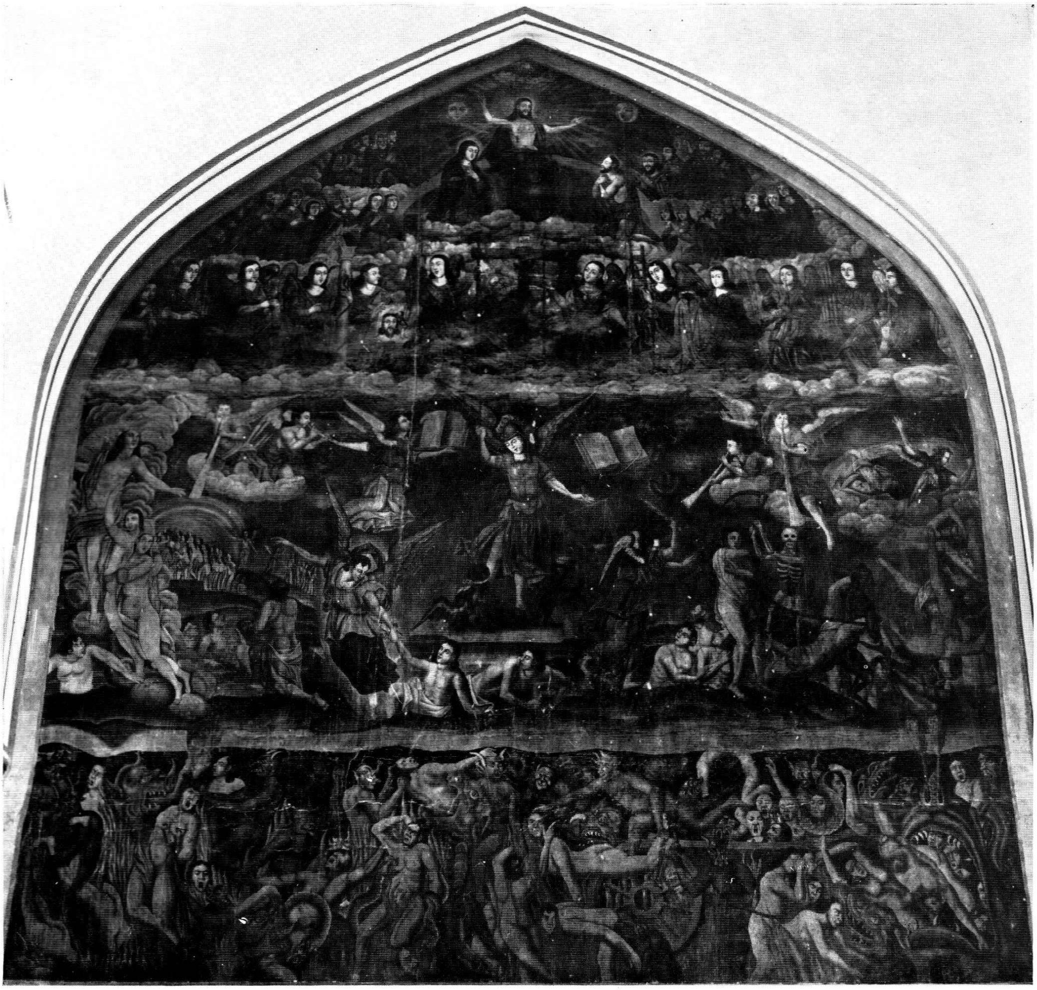
a



b

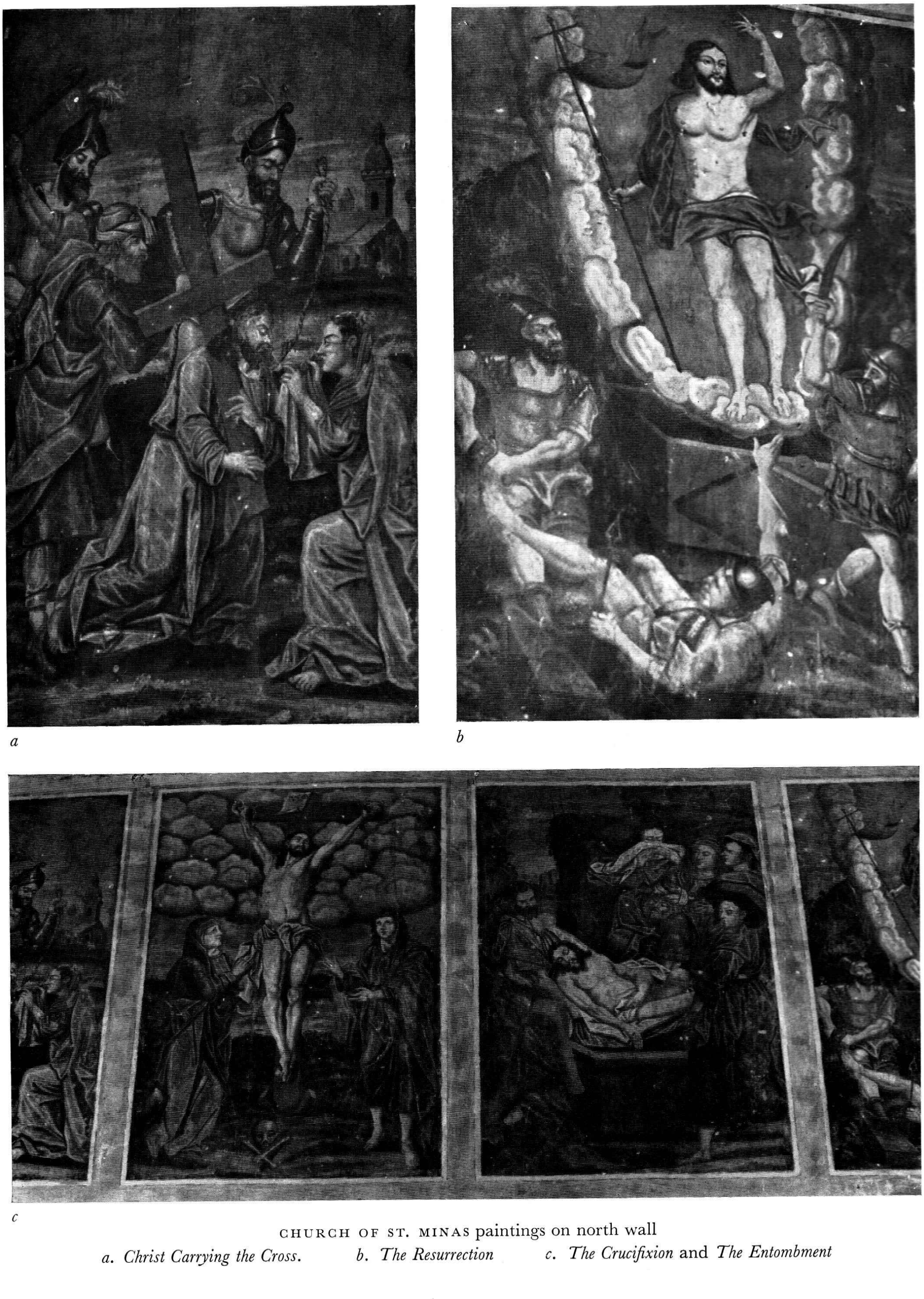
CHURCH OF ST. MINAS

a. South side. *b.* Interior looking west



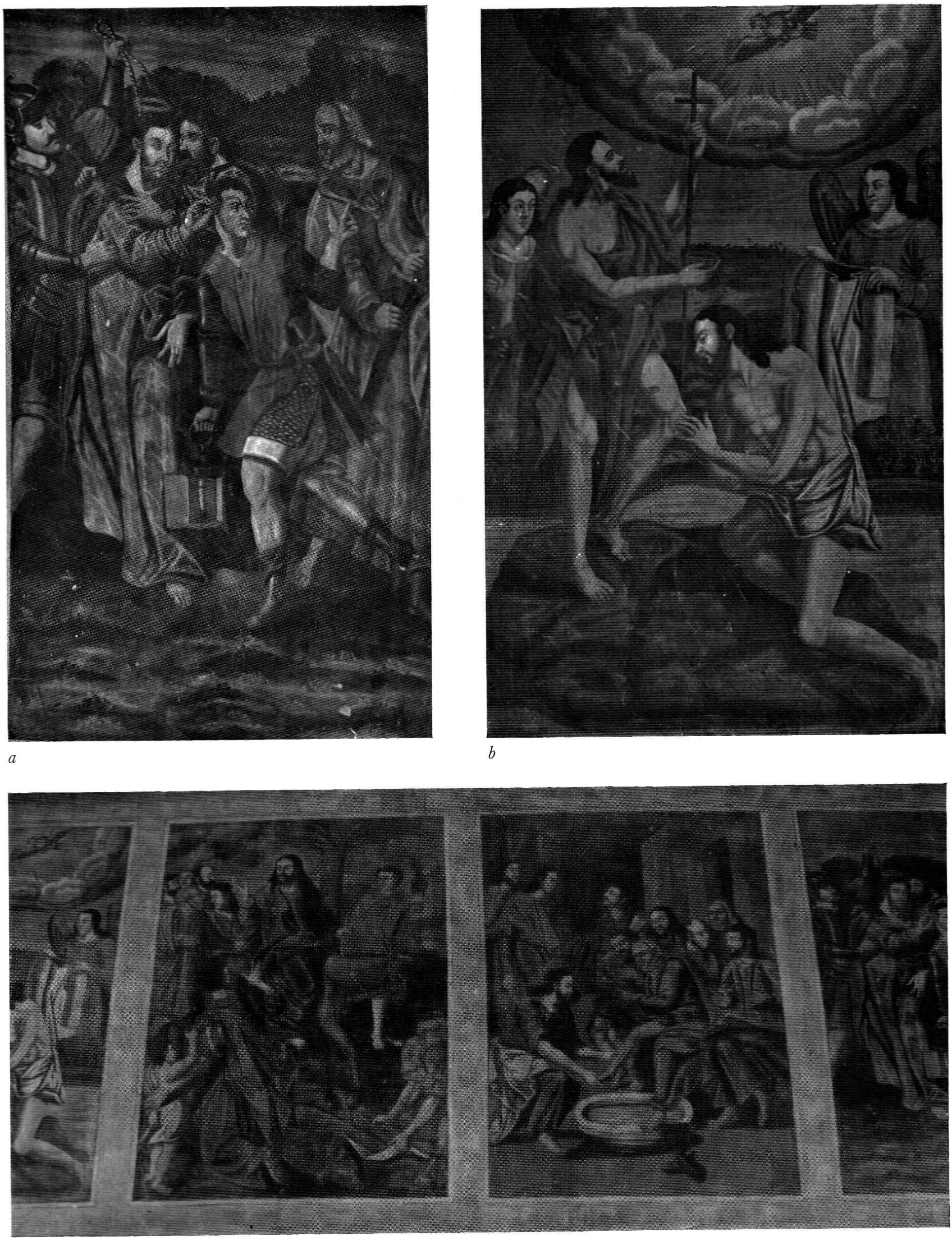
CHURCH OF ST. MINAS *The Last Judgement*, painting on north wall

PLATE 58



CHURCH OF ST. MINAS paintings on north wall

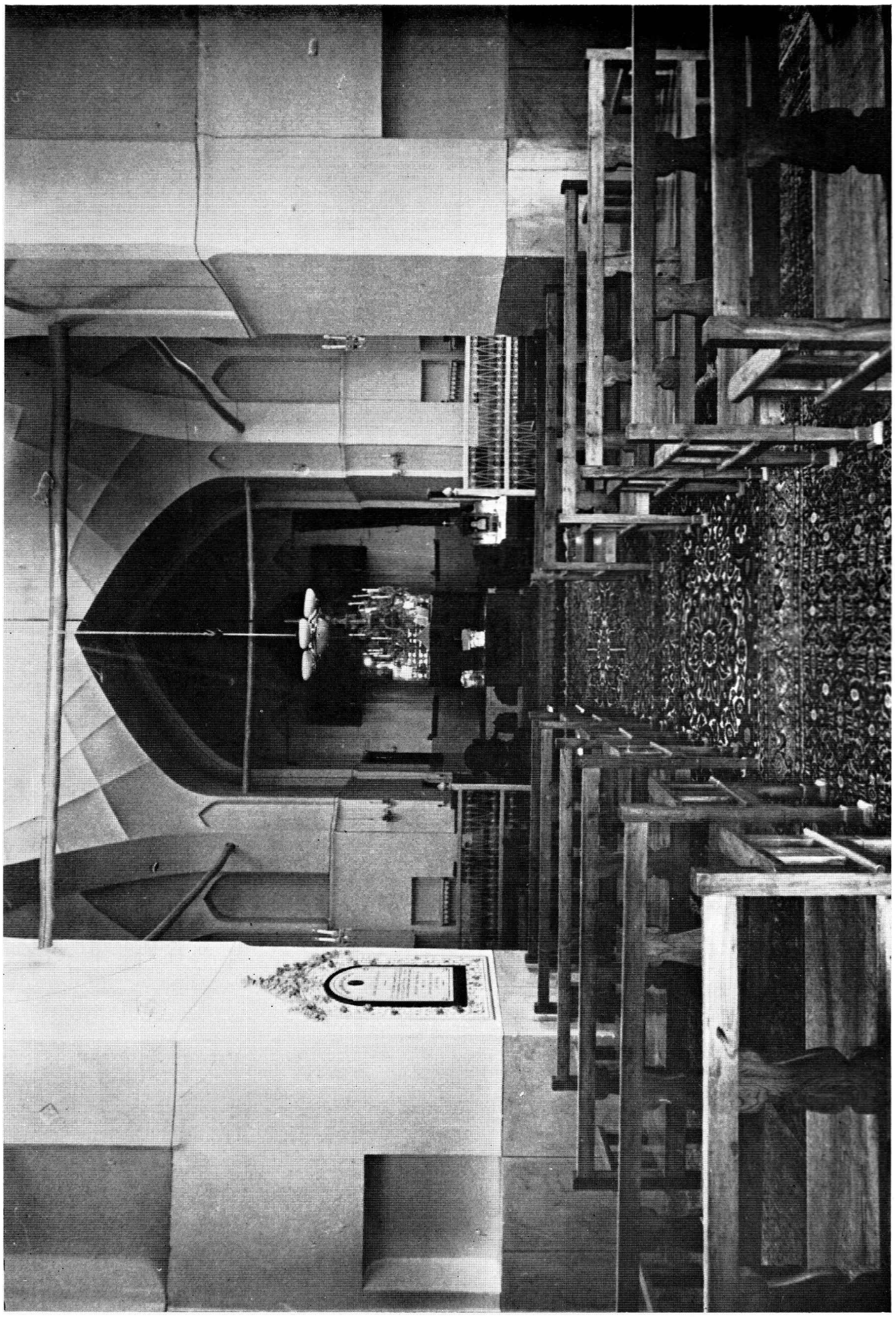
a. Christ Carrying the Cross. *b. The Resurrection* *c. The Crucifixion* and *The Entombment*



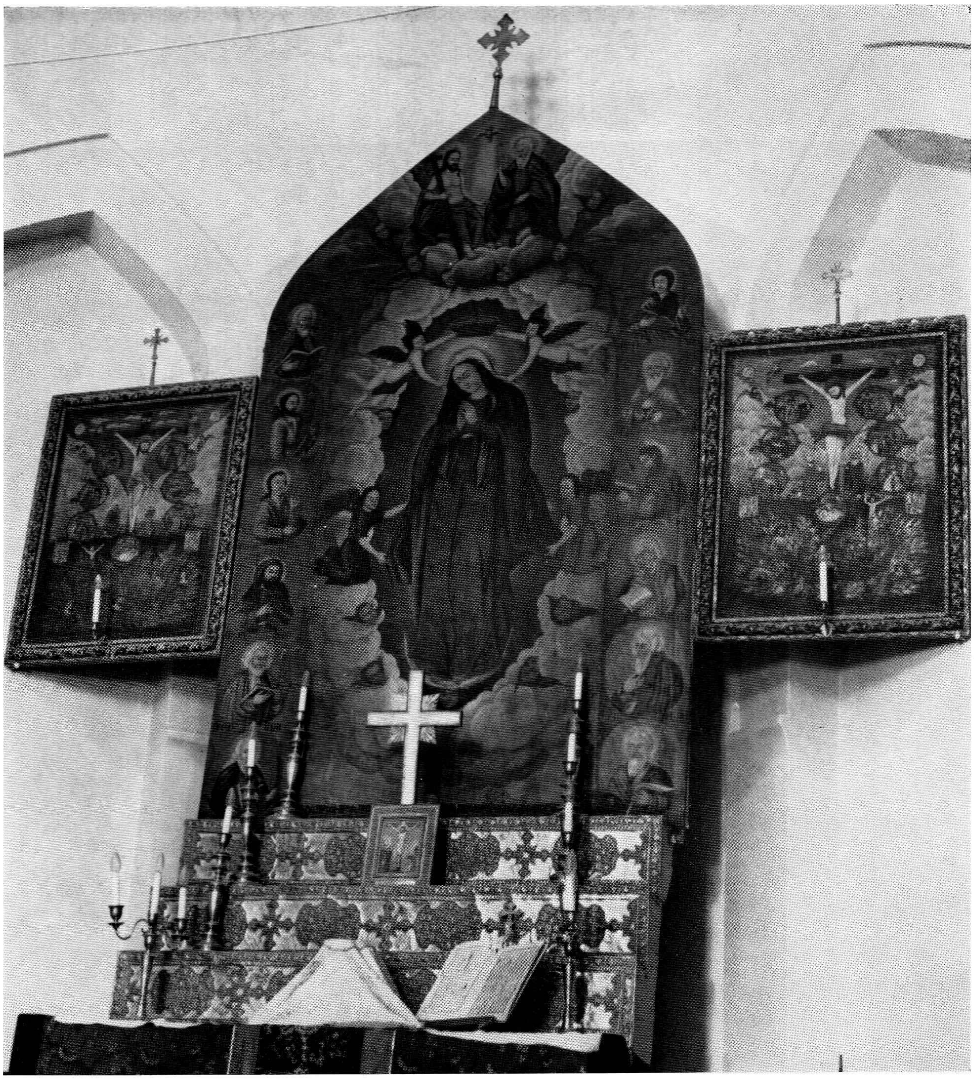
CHURCH OF ST. MINAS, paintings on south wall

a. The Betrayal *b. The Baptism of Christ* *c. The Entry into Jerusalem* and *The Washing of the Feet*

PLATE 60



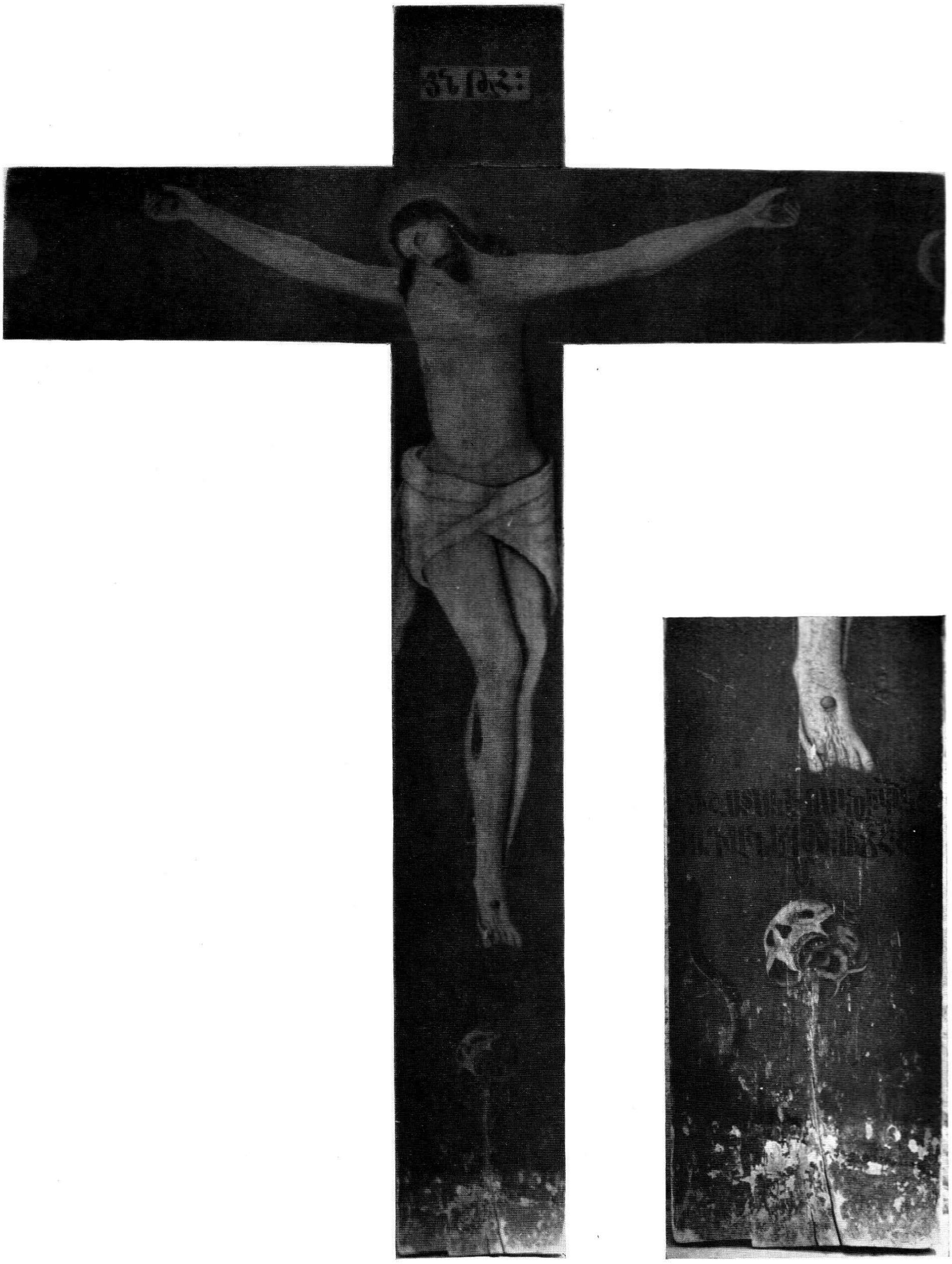
CHURCH OF ST. NERSES interior looking east



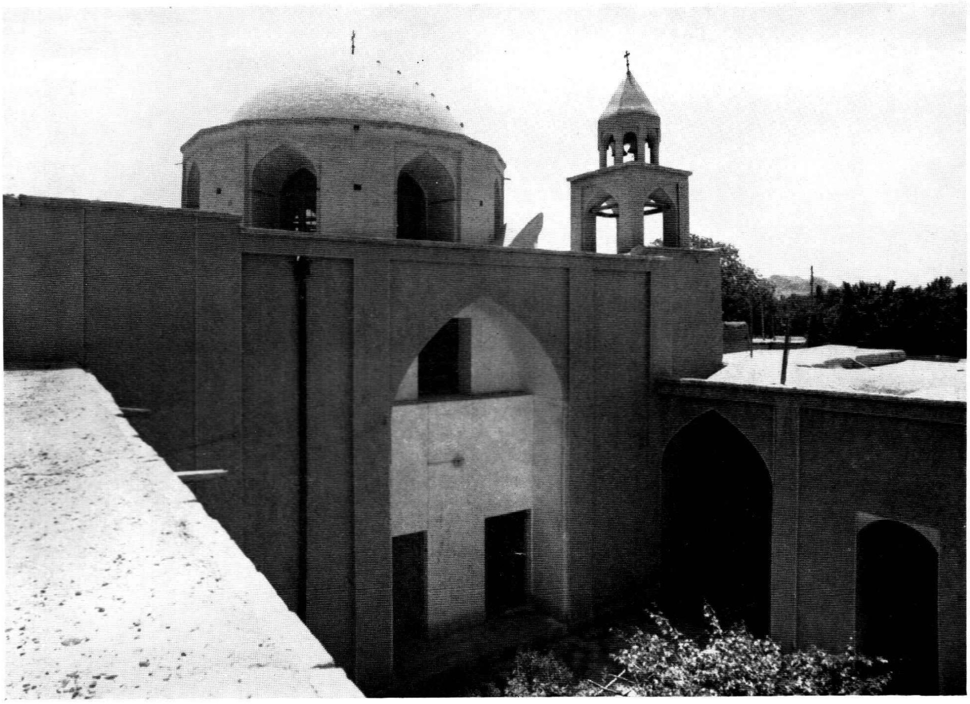
CHURCH OF ST. NERSES the altar

The Madonna, with God the Father, Christ, and the Twelve Disciples, oil painting dated 1724 A.D. flanked by almost identical paintings of *The Crucifixion*

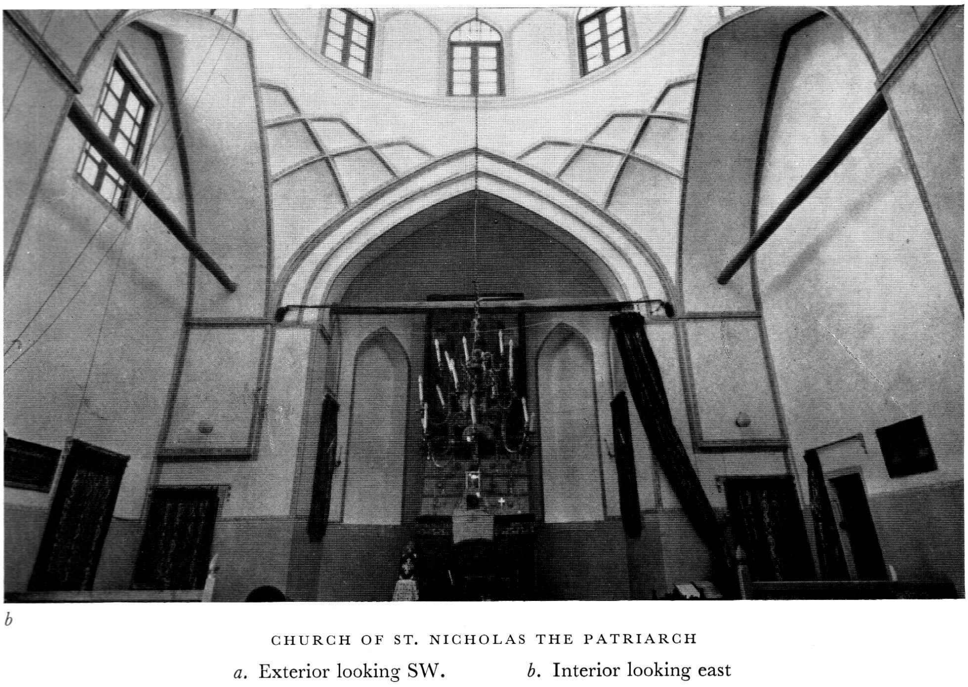
PLATE 62



CHURCH OF ST. NERSES *The Crucifixion,* wooden cross, 185 by 145 cms. (Right) detail of inscription, dated 1721 A.D.



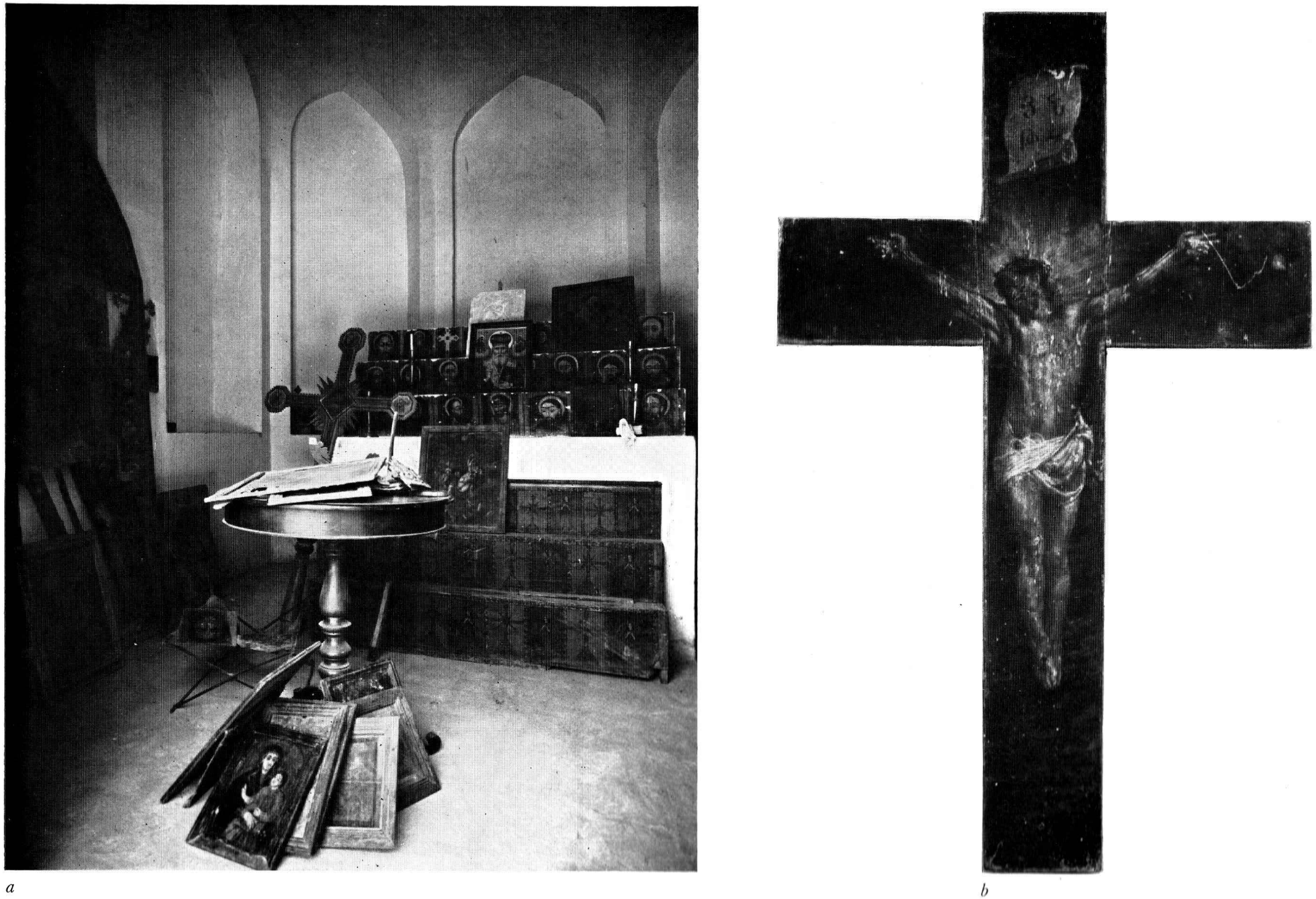
a



b

CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS THE PATRIARCH

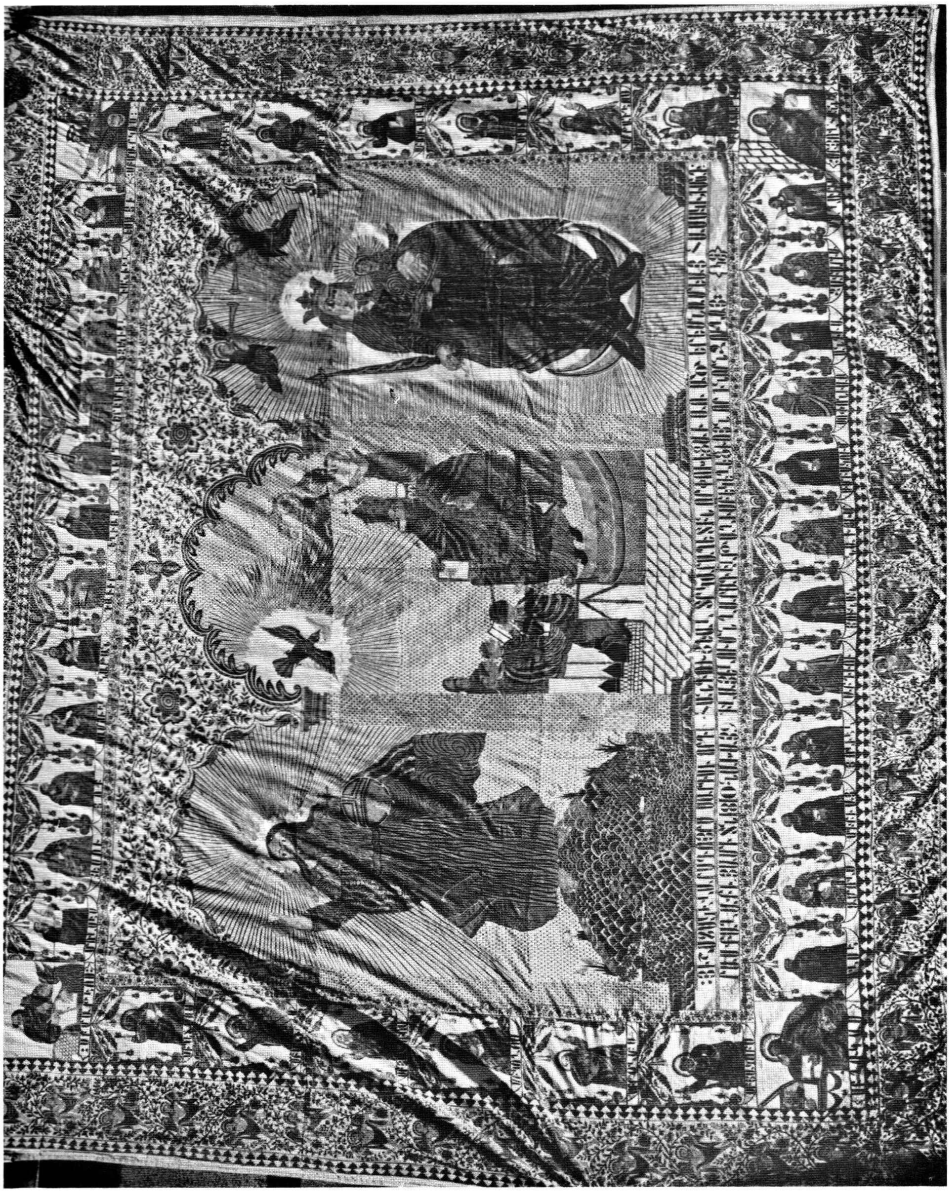
a. Exterior looking SW. *b.* Interior looking east



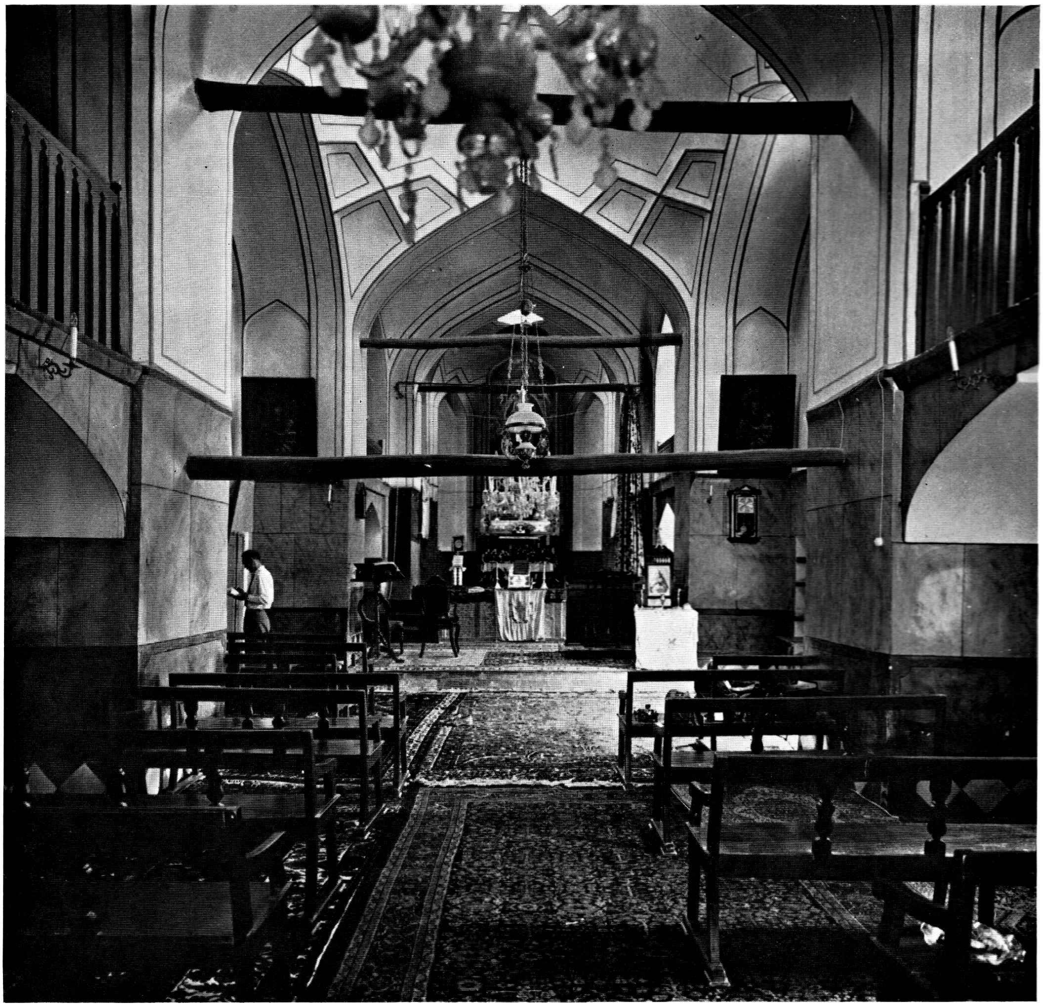
CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS THE PATRIARCH

a. Collection of old paintings in the annexe chapel

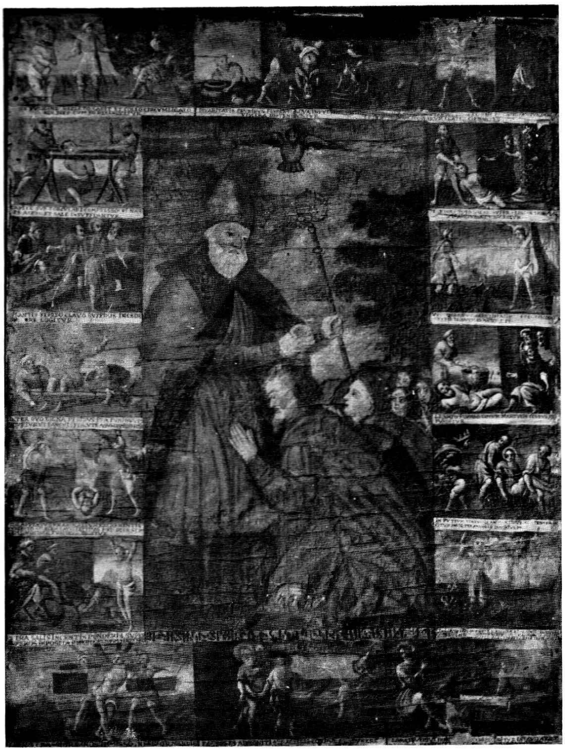
b. The Crucifixion, painted wooden cross 50 by 78 cms., ? Dutch, late 17th/early 18th century



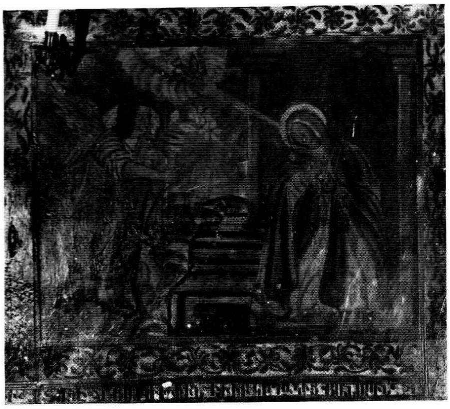
CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS THE PATRIARCH altar curtain of Indian painted cotton, dated 1810 A.D., 390 by 460 cms.



CHURCH OF ST. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR interior looking east



a



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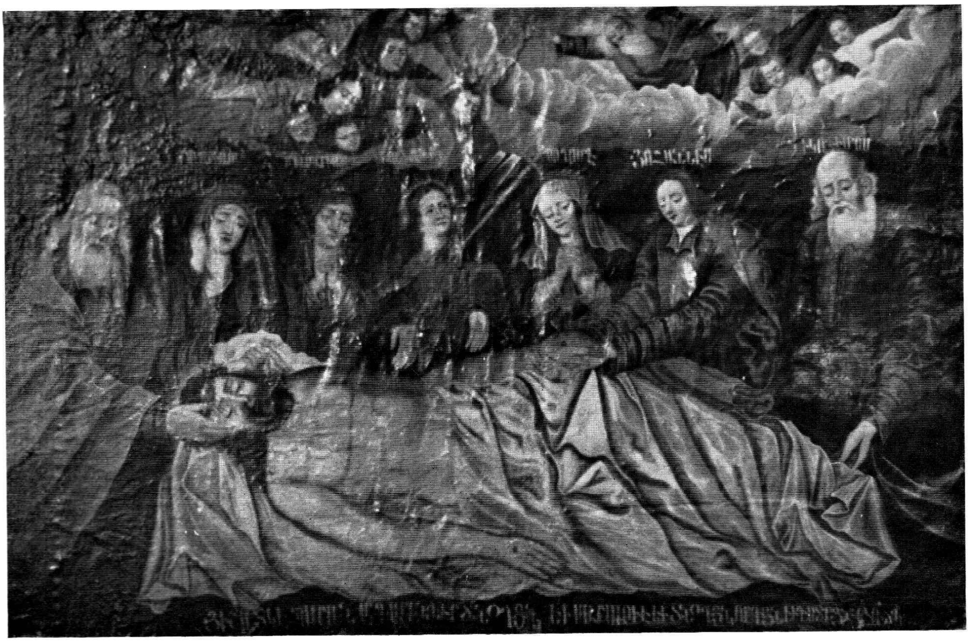
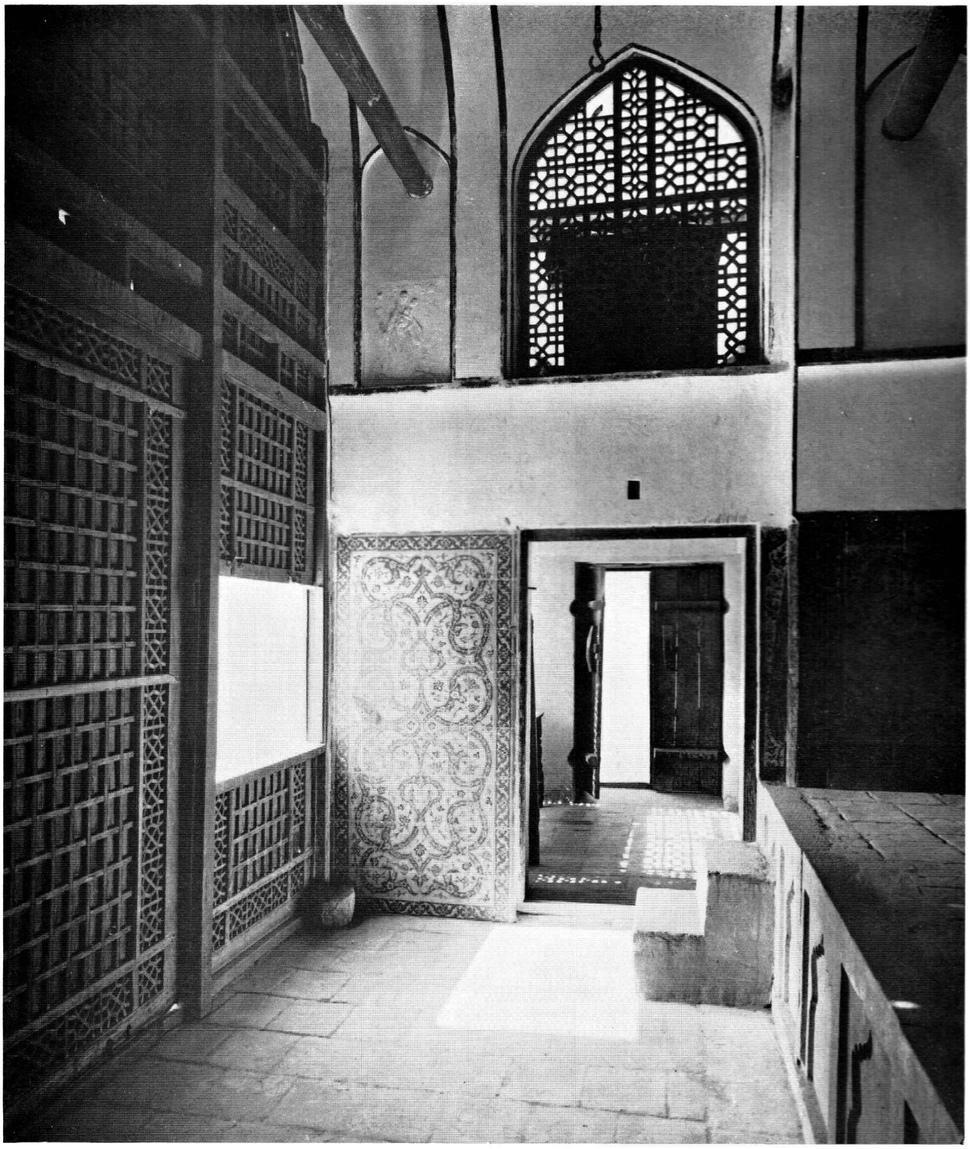


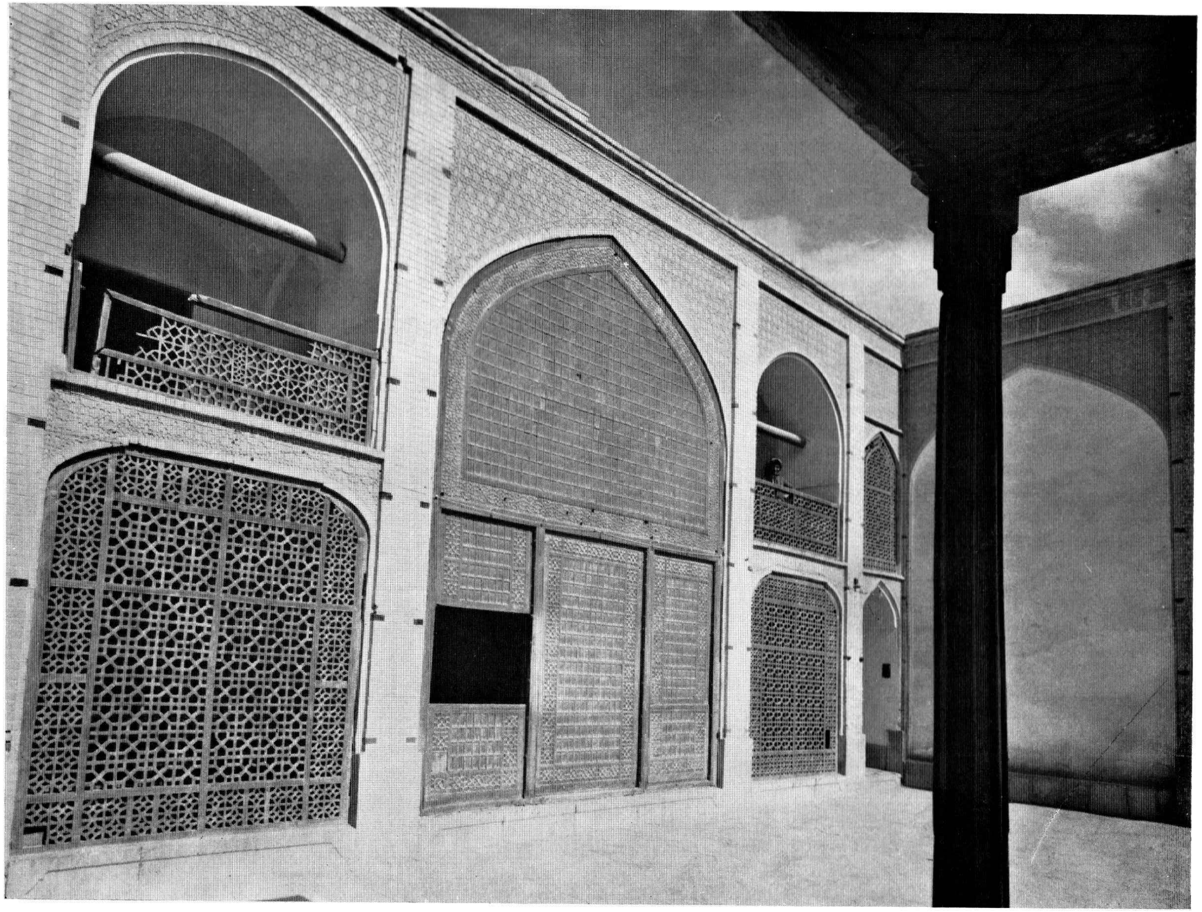
c

CHURCH OF ST. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

a. *St. Gregory the Illuminator*, oil painting inscribed in Armenian and Latin
b. Chancel, south side; wall painting of *The Annunciation*
c. *The Enshrouding*, oil painting dated 1710 A.D.

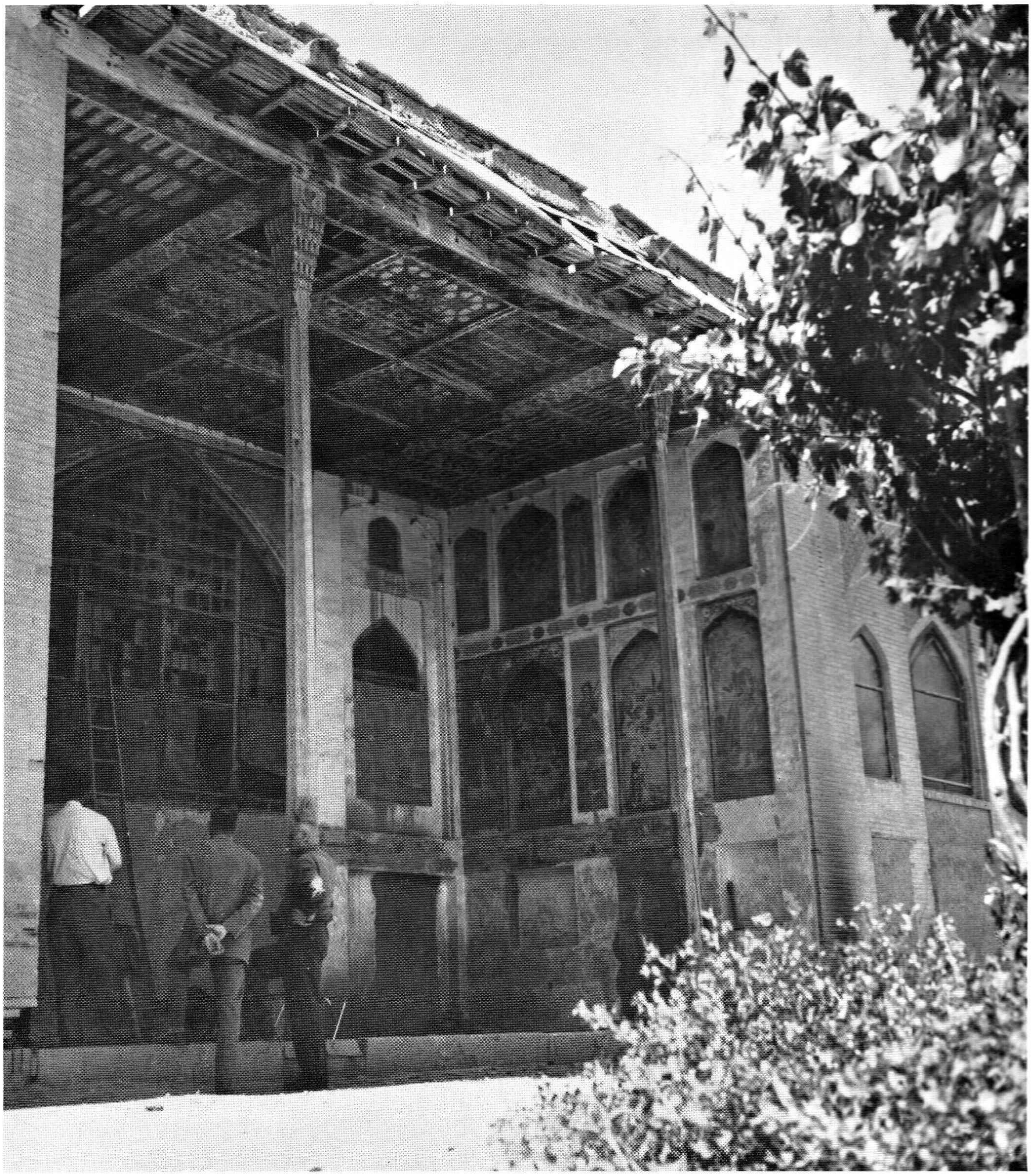


CHURCH OF ST. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR interior of the annexe chapel, built by Tharkhan in 1713/14 A.D., with raised chancel, movable wooden screens, and tile friezes

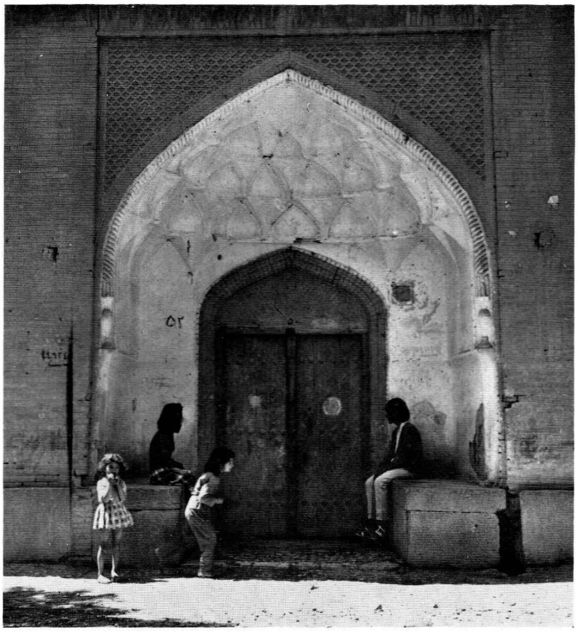


CHURCH OF ST. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

Exterior of the annexe chapel, built by Tharkhan in 1713/14 A.D., to the south of the church



HOUSE 'A' the verandah



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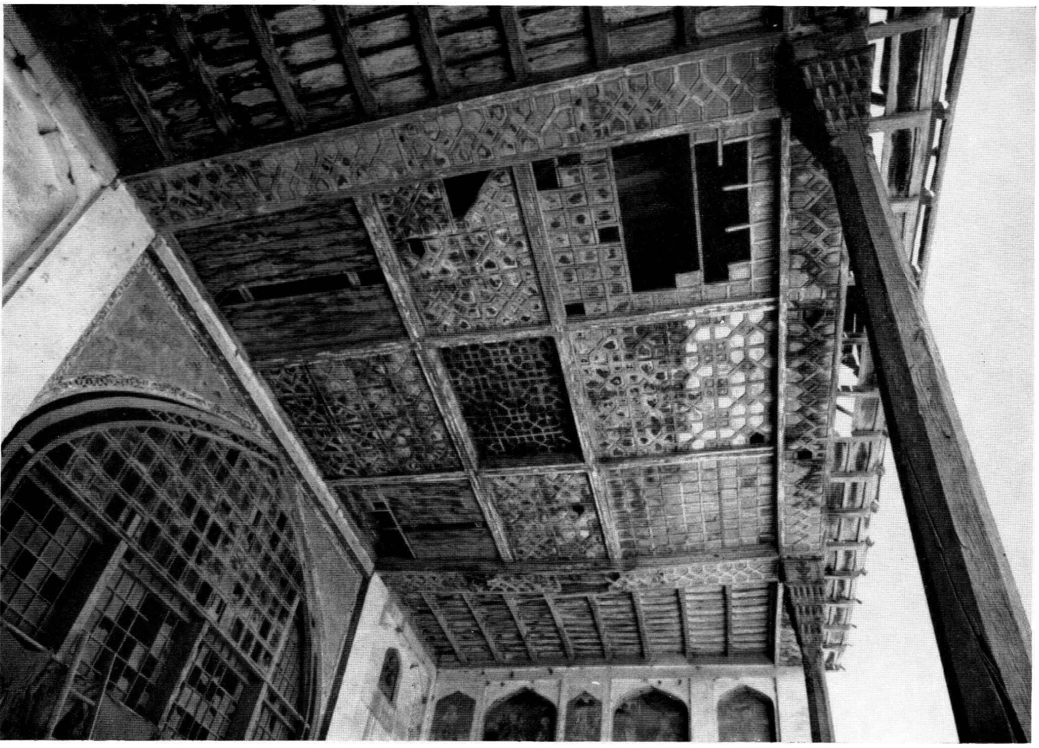
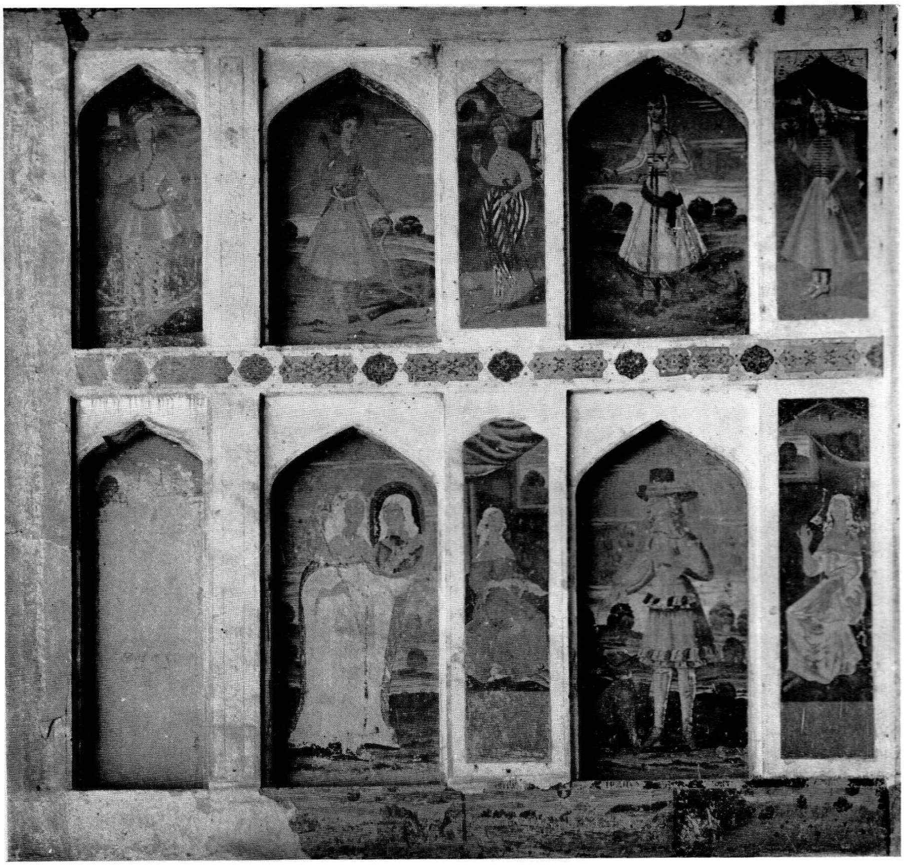


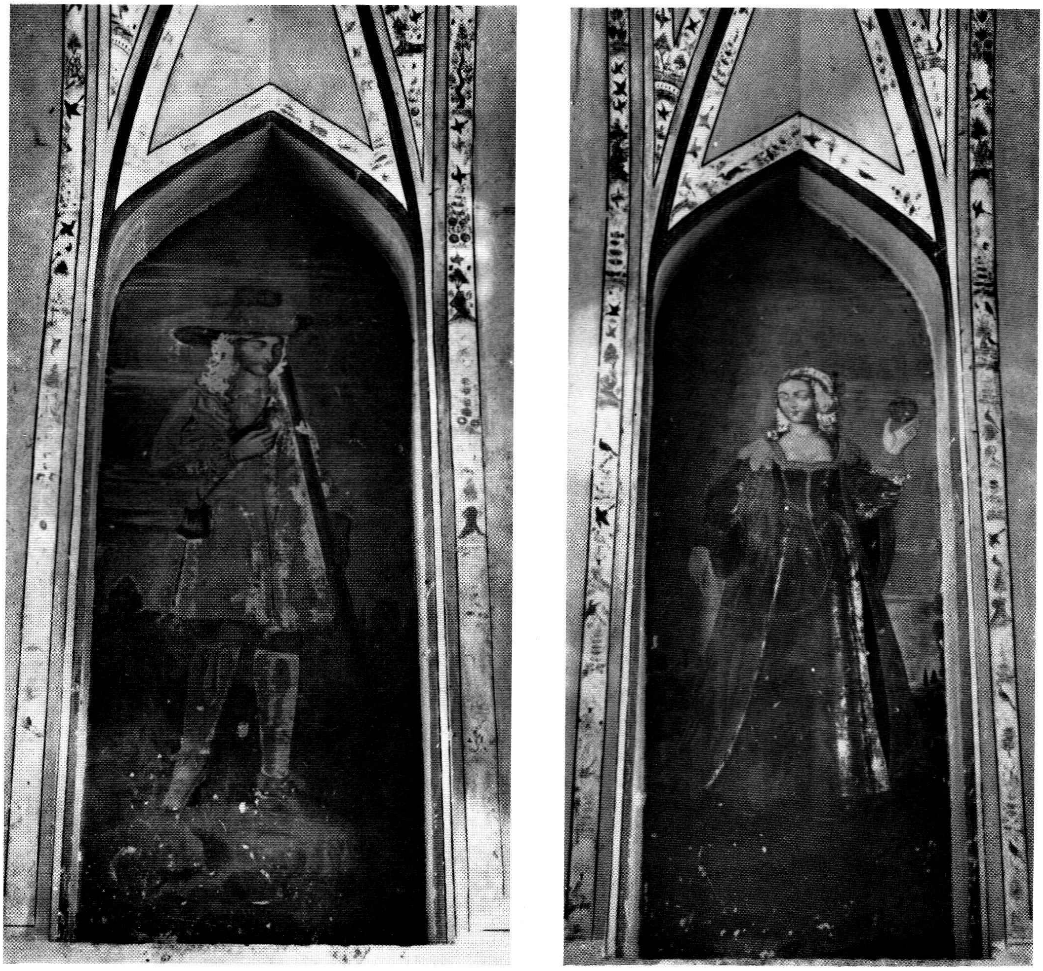
b

HOUSE 'A'

a. Entrance from the street. *b.* Detail of the wooden roof of the verandah



HOUSE 'A' paintings on the east side of the verandah
Top row, figures in Persian costume
Bottom row, figures in European costume
Below, a frieze of landscape panels

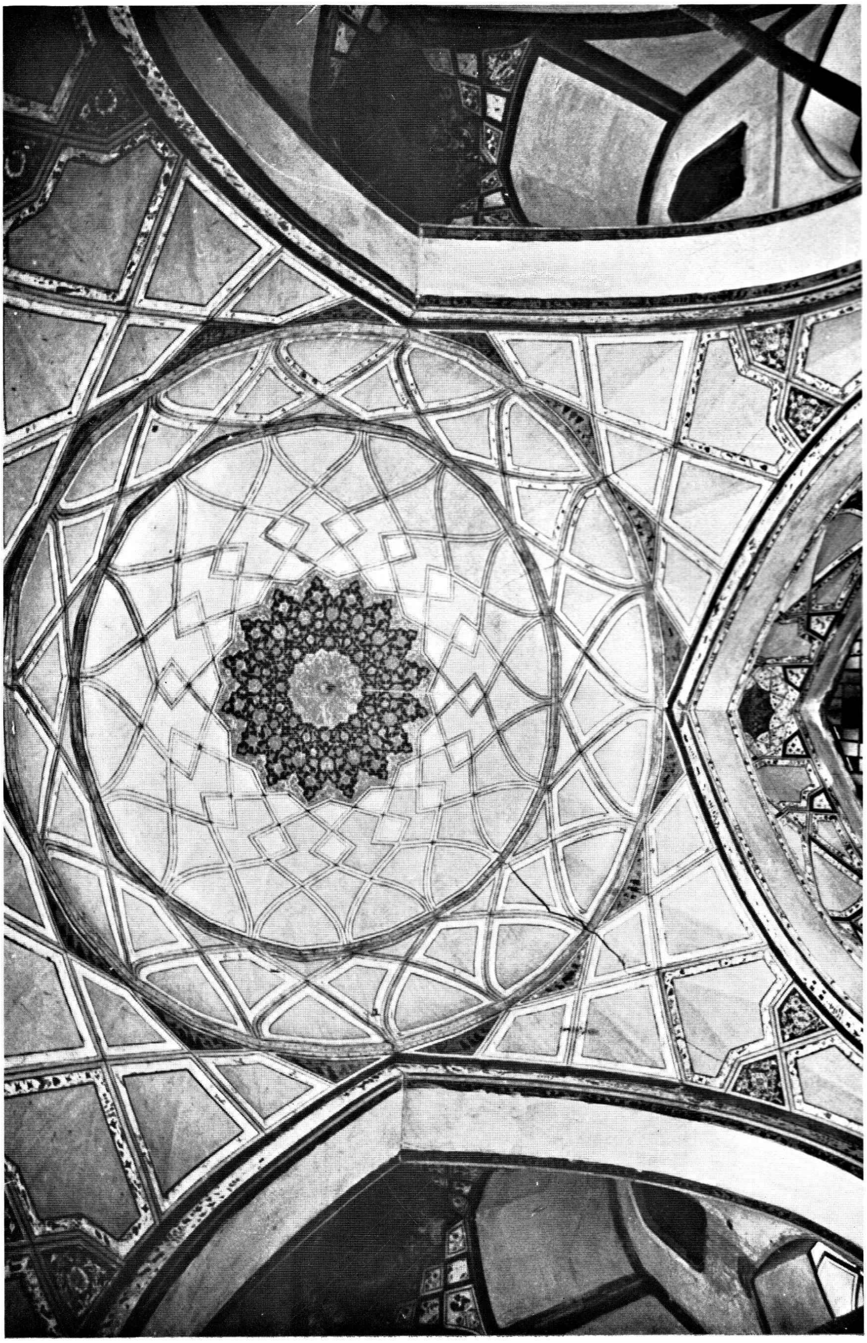


a *b*

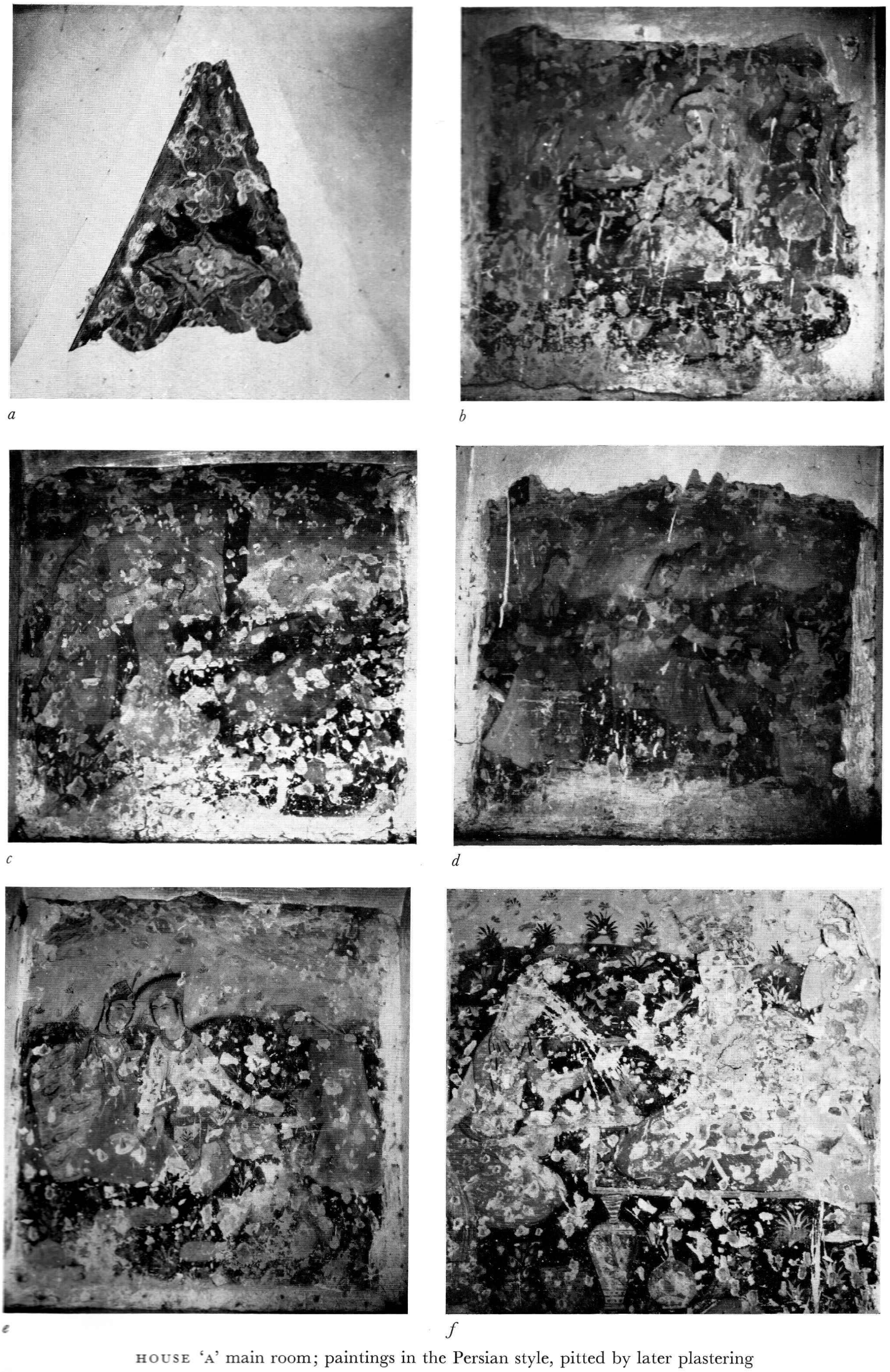
HOUSE 'A' main room

a. West side; painting of a man in European costume holding a gun and a bird, with a dog at his feet
b. East side; painting of a woman in European costume holding a pomegranate and a rosary, with a dog at her feet

PLATE 74

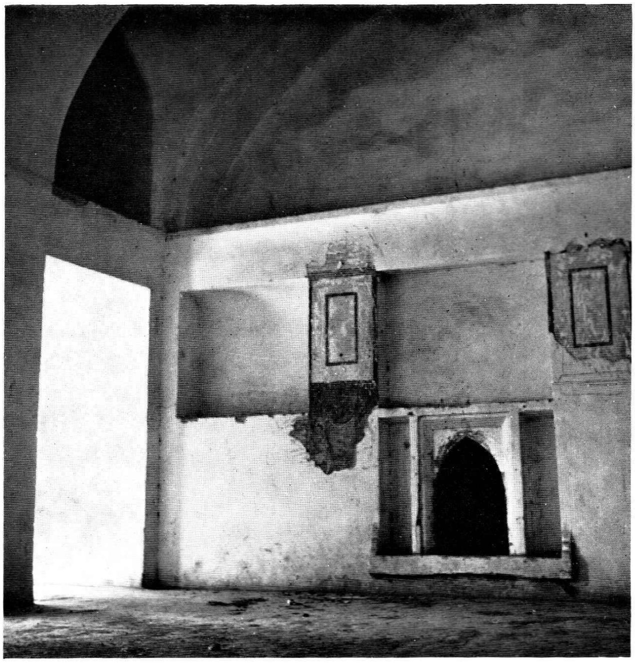


HOUSE ‘A’ main room; interior of dome decorated with painted and gilt stucco



HOUSE ‘A’ main room; paintings in the Persian style, pitted by later plastering

a. Decoration of a pendentive. *b.* A seated figure, with attendants. *c.* Men feasting. *d.* Ladies feasting. *e.* A man and a woman feasting, with an attendant. *f.* A man seated on a carpet feasting, with attendants



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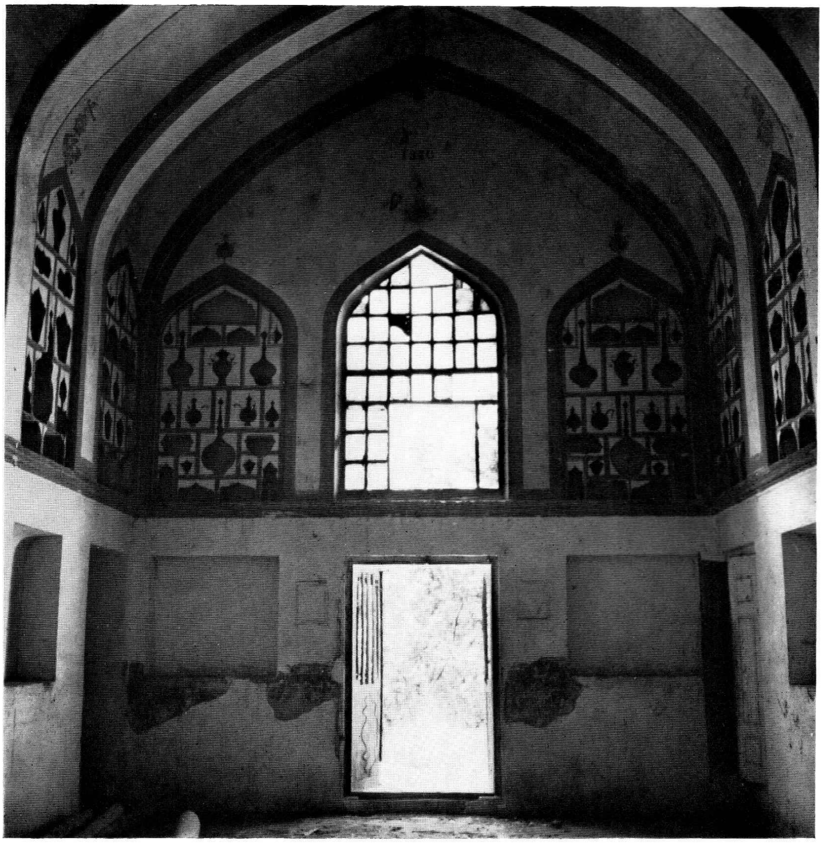
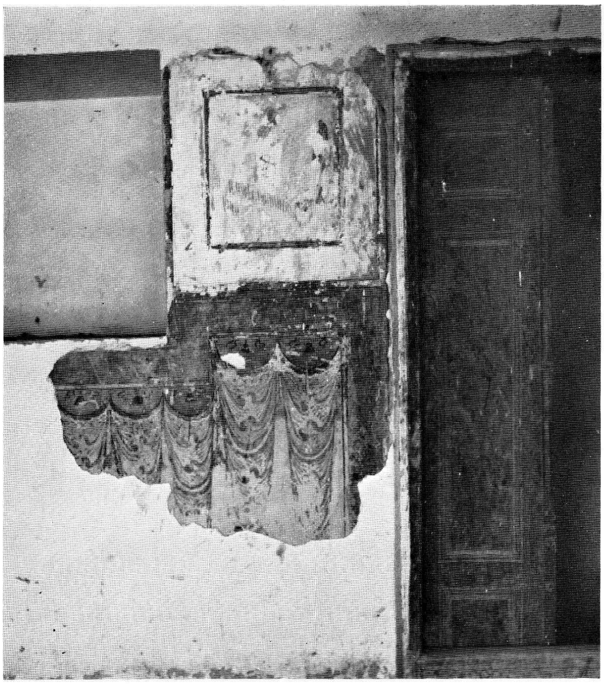


b

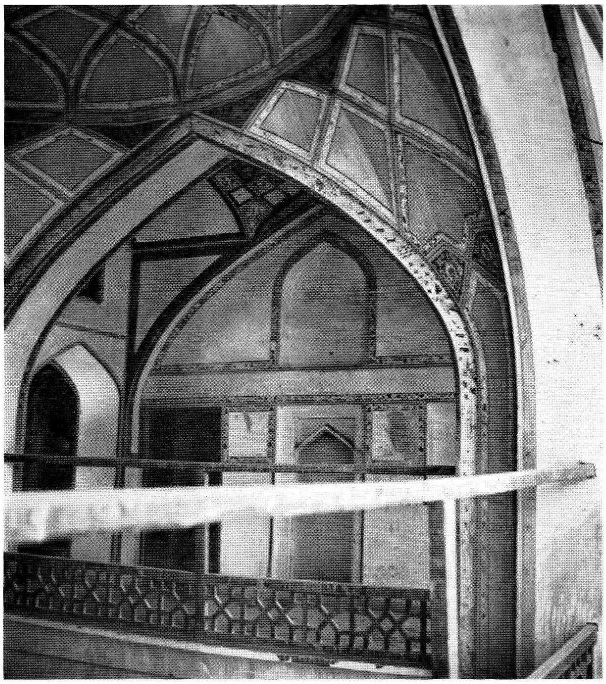
HOUSE 'A'

a. Upper floor; fireplace in a room with painted decoration of hanging curtains, now concealed by later plastering

b. Side room (B); niches with façades of cut plaster designs. Below, traces of painted curtains under later plastering. (The date 1876 above the window refers to the repainting of the room)



a

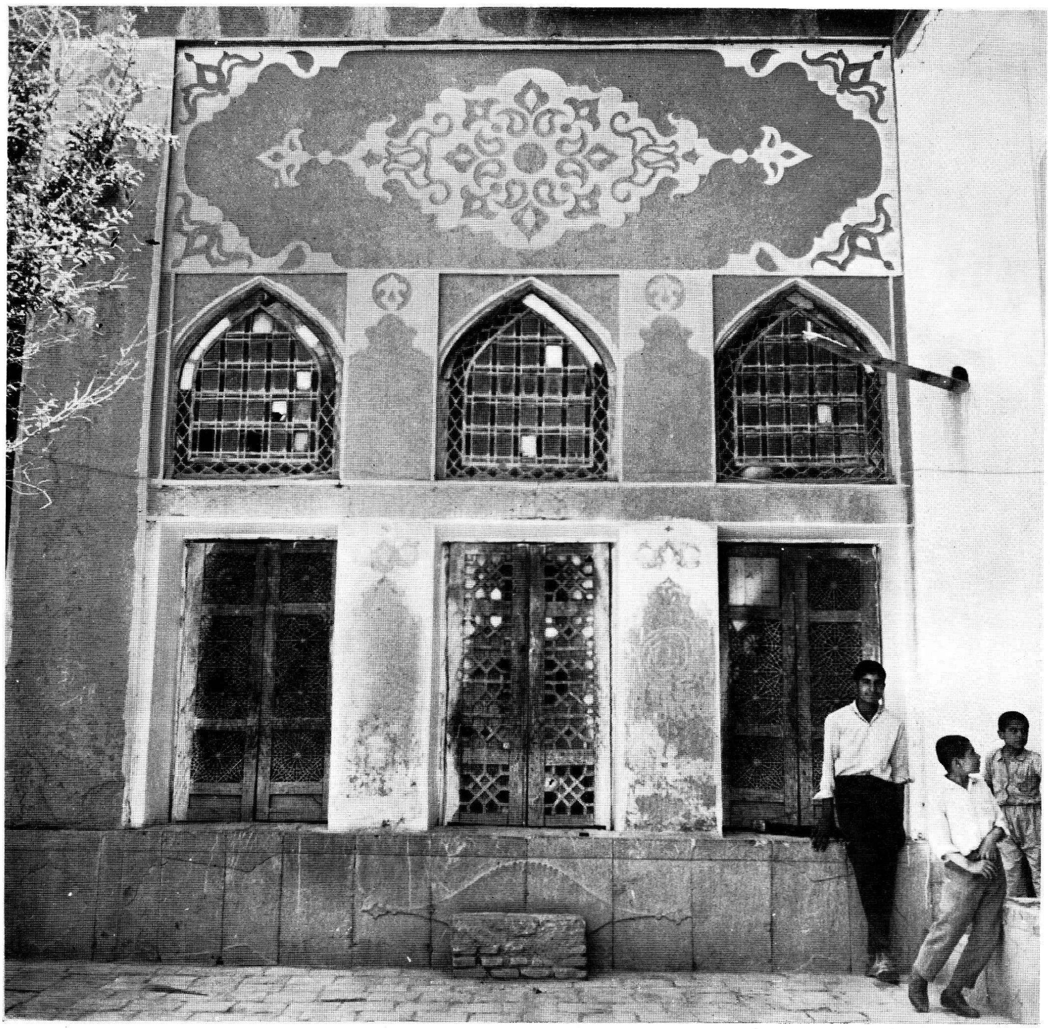


b

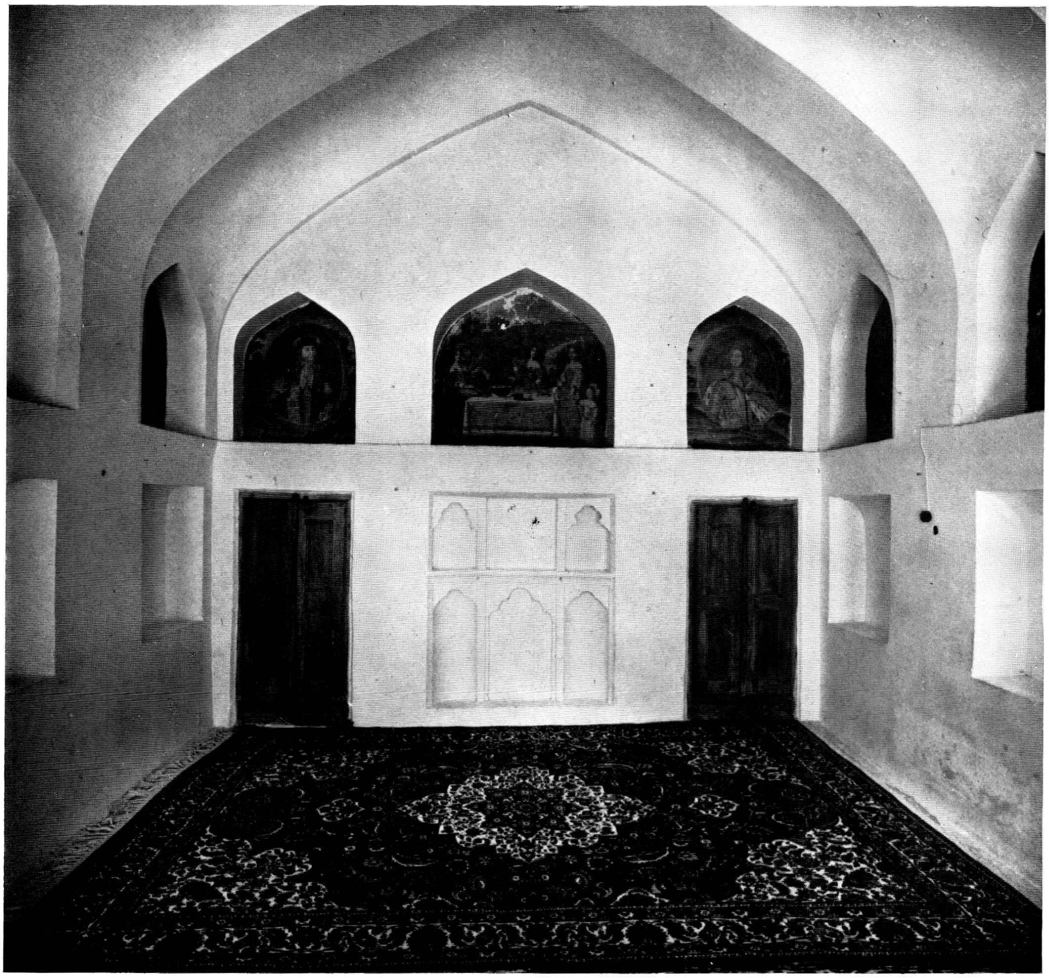
HOUSE 'A'

a. Upper floor; detail of walls painted with hanging curtains, showing beneath later plastering

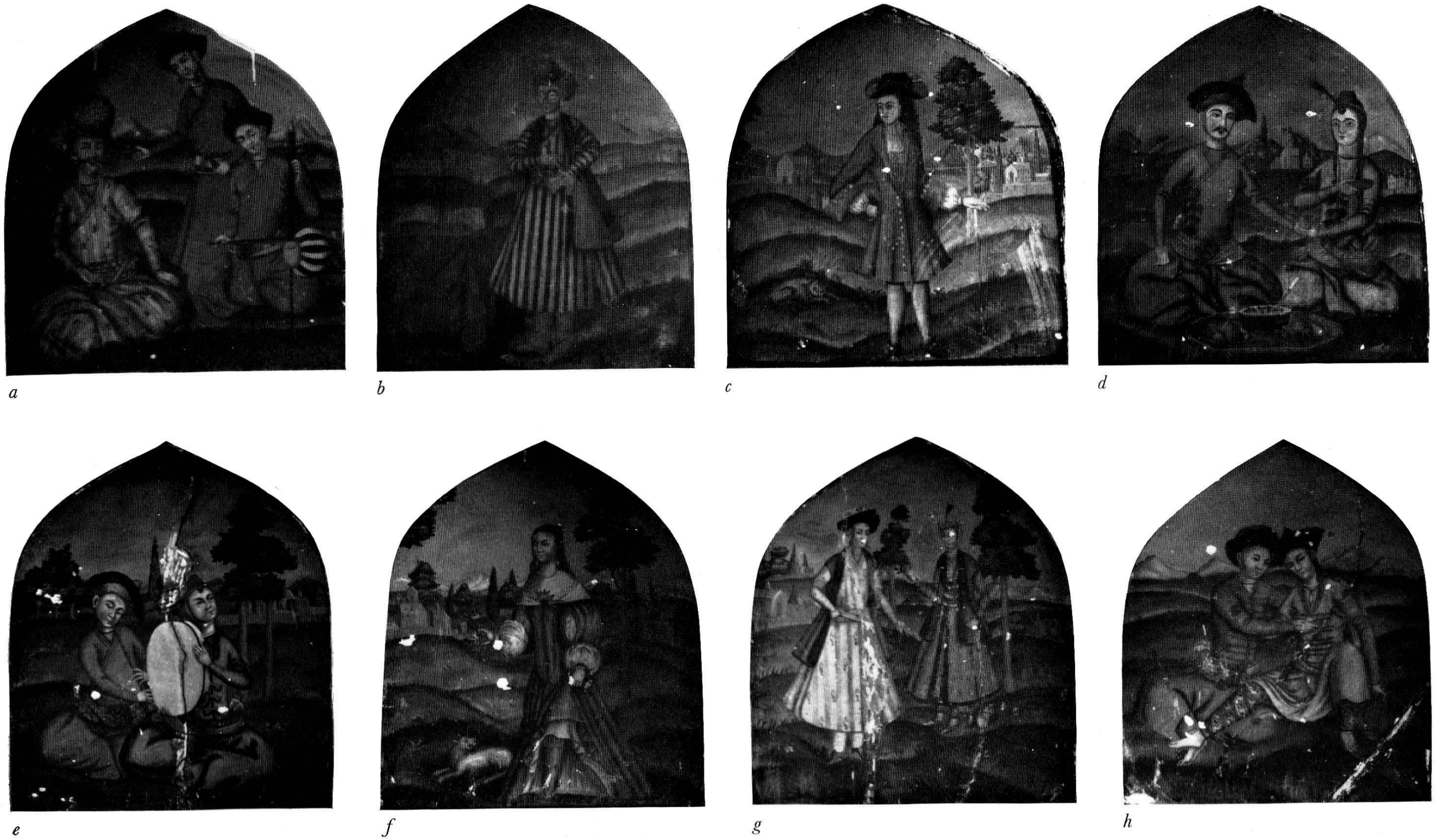
b. Main room; details of painted plaster in the galleries



HOUSE 'B' the courtyard, with carved stucco patterns on the walls, and a carved stone sill. The floor of the room behind the lattices is level with the top of the sill. The upper pointed windows are filled with coloured glass

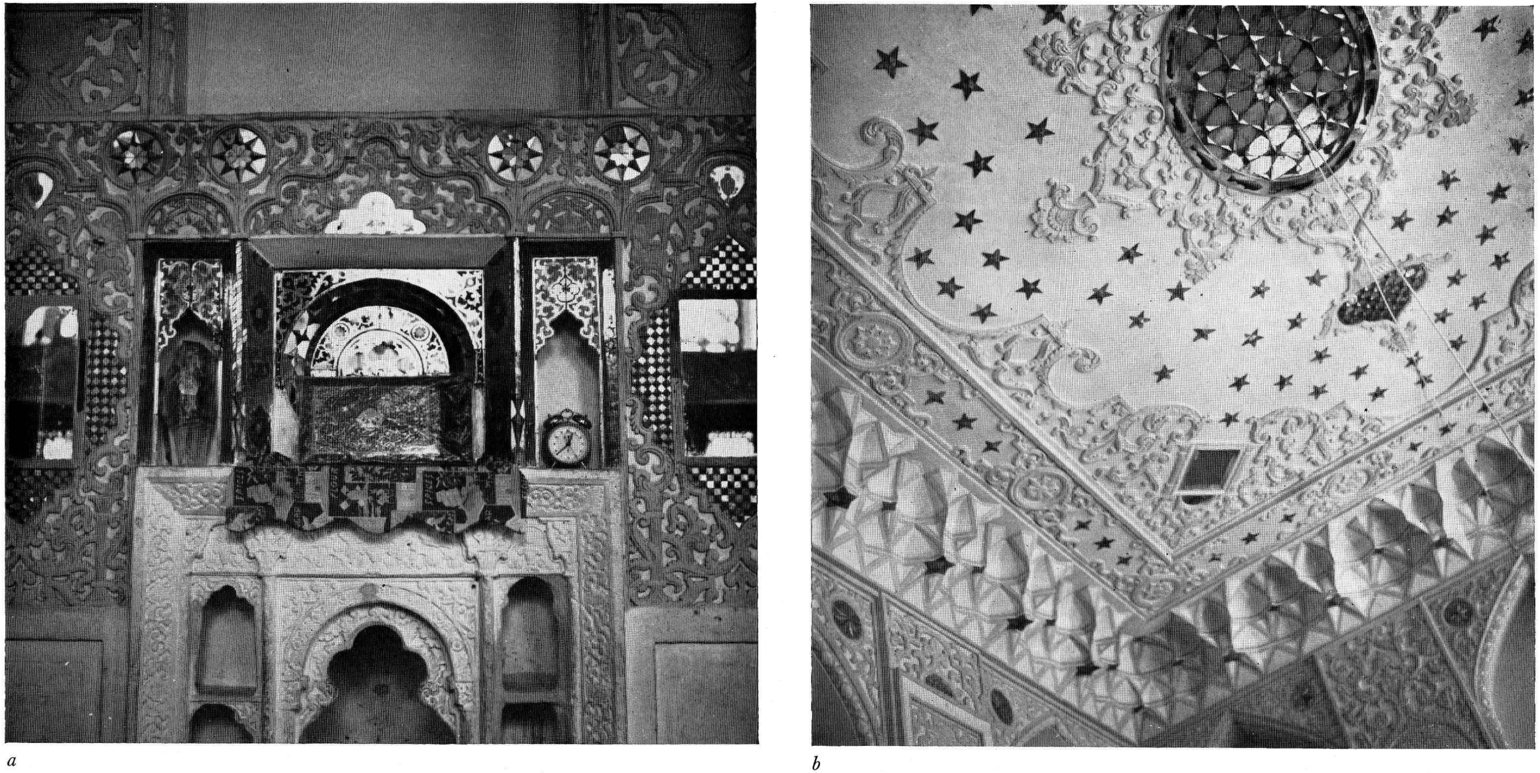


HOUSE 'B' room with eleven painted niches. On the end wall is a family group in European costume at table, in a landscape (see PLATE VIII); on the left, a painting of a man in European costume (?Israel Ori); on the right, a man with a crown (?Peter the Great)



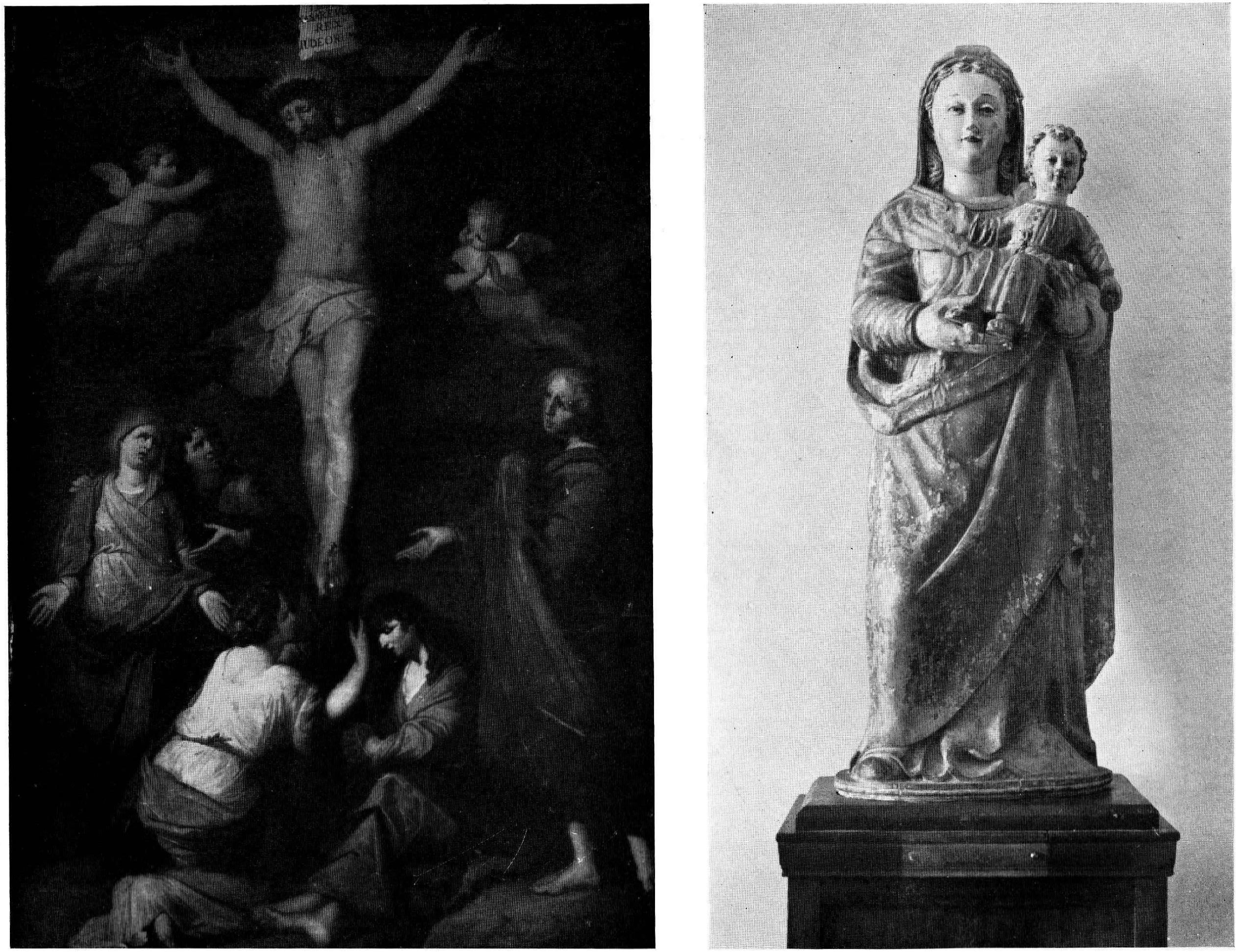
HOUSE 'B' room with painted niches

south wall (*a*) seated figure, in Persian costume, with two attendants, one playing a musical instrument, the other holding a cup
(*b*) figure standing by a table holding a pen, before an open book, in Persian costume
(*c*) standing figure in European costume, holding a stick; on the left is a crouching dog and in the distance houses
(*d*) a seated man and woman in Persian costume; the woman passes the man a pear and holds a cup; in front is an octagonal tray of fruit
north wall (*e*) a seated man and woman in Persian costume, playing a pipe and a tambourine
(*f*) a woman in European costume lifting her skirt to reveal a garter; she carries a flower and at her feet is a dog
(*g*) a man and a woman elaborately dressed in Persian costume; he holds a cane, she holds a rose and a pair of gloves
(*h*) two seated lovers in Persian costume; one holds a flask



HOUSE 'B'

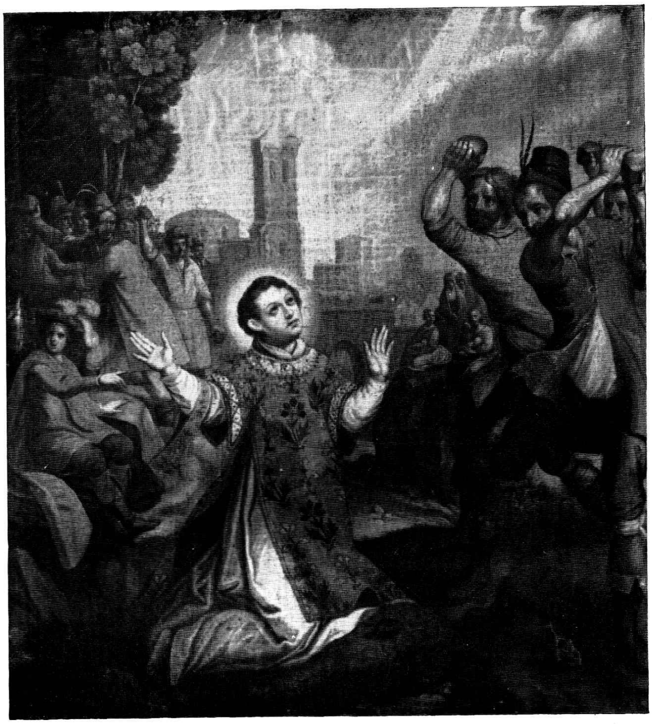
a. The fire place in a room with carved stucco and cut-glass decoration of the Qajar period *b*. The ceiling of the same room



a *b*

THE MUSEUM

a. The Crucifixion, oil painting (?) Italian, 17th/18th century
b. The Madonna and Child, polychrome wooden statue, approx. 100 cms. high. (?) Spanish, 17th/18th century



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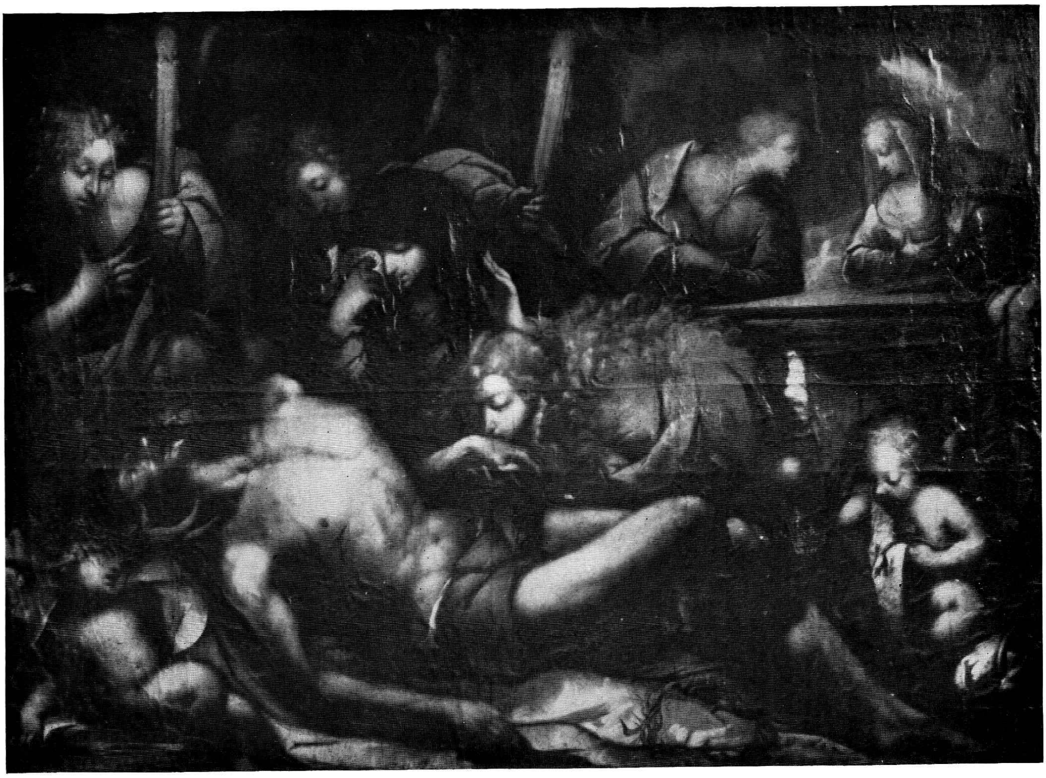
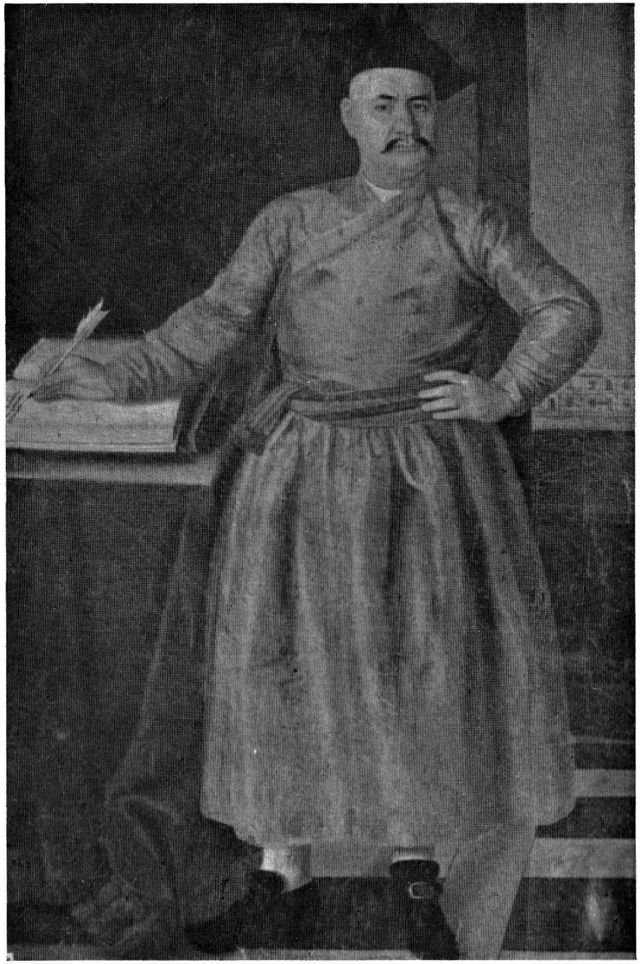


b

THE MUSEUM

a. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, oil painting, Italian or Flemish, 17th/18th century
b. The Deposition, oil painting; Italian school



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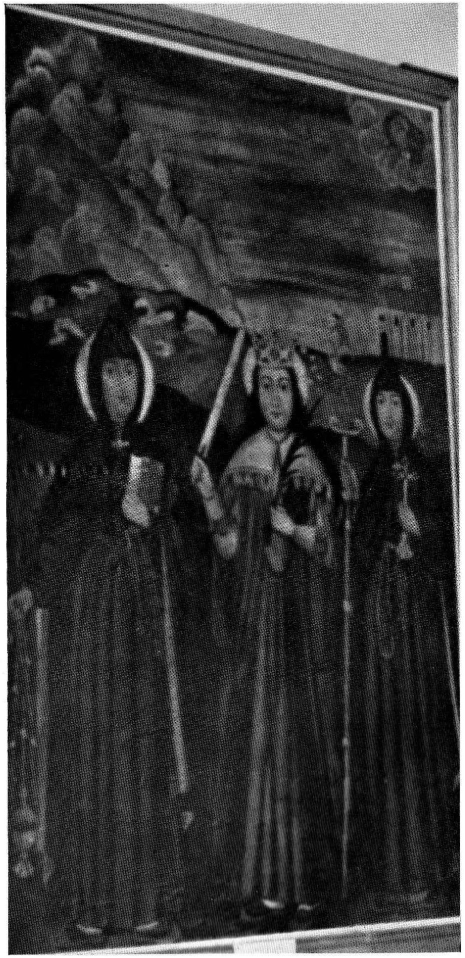
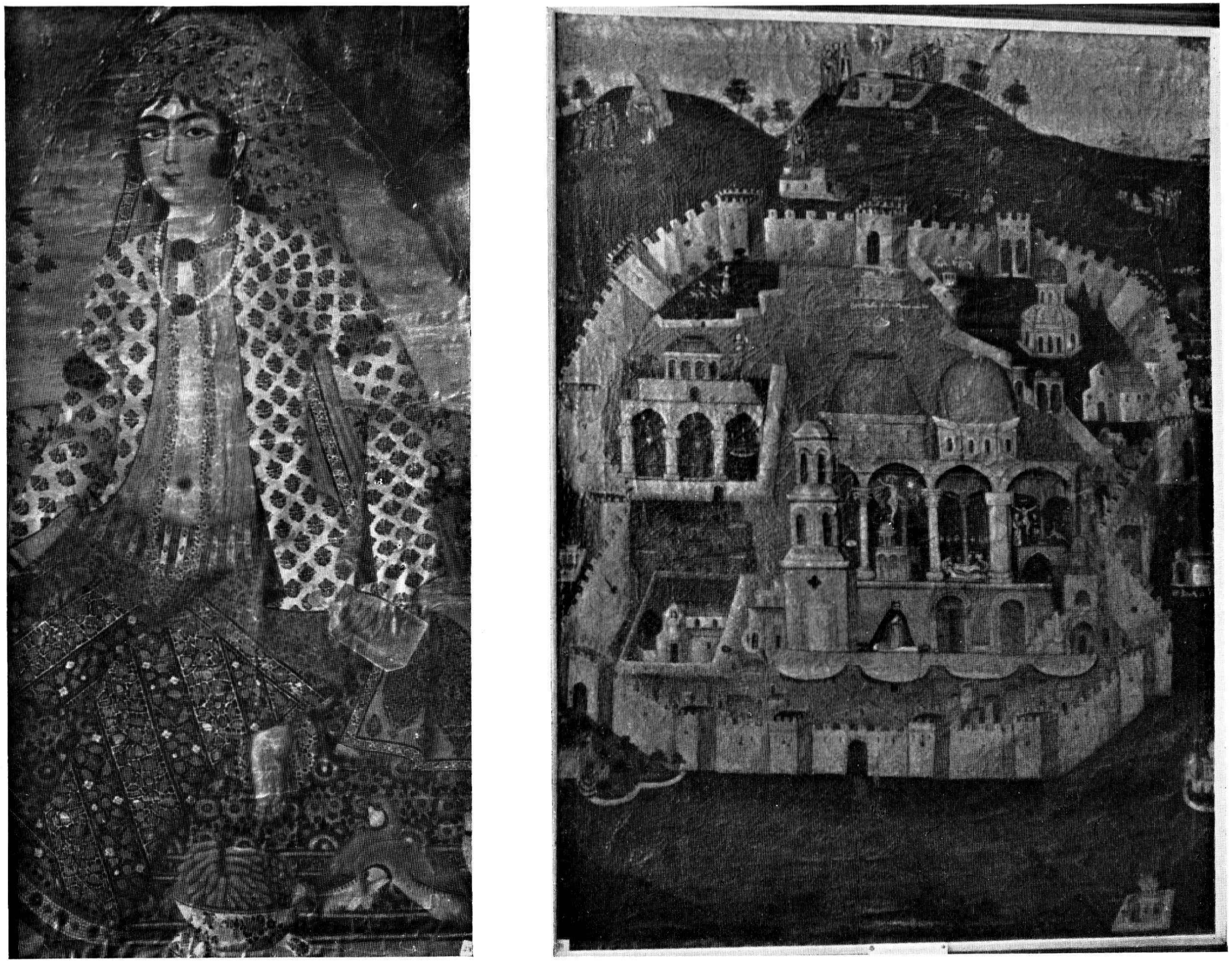


b

THE MUSEUM

a. Khodja Petros Oskanian, oil painting executed in Madras, dated 1737 A.D.

b. Three female Saints, oil painting, Julfa school



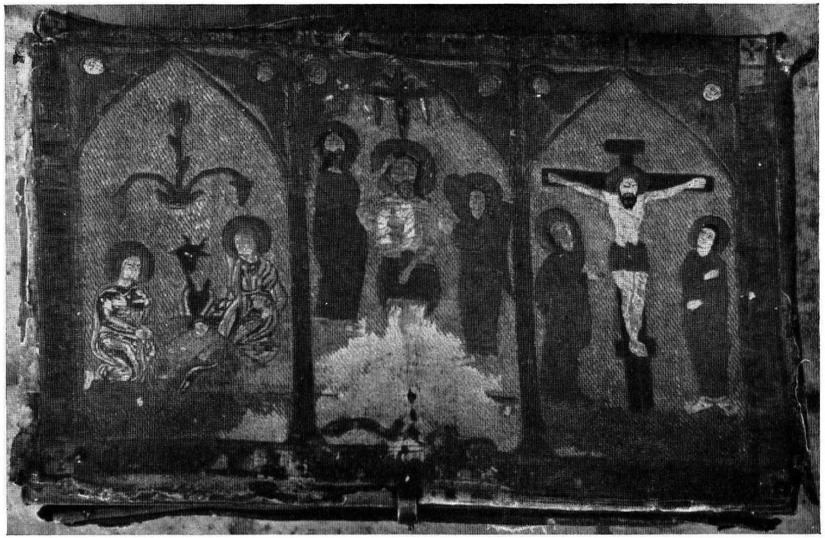
a

b

THE MUSEUM

a. *A Seated Princess*, oil painting; Persian, late 18th century

b. *Jerusalem*, oil painting. In the centre is the Holy Sepulchre, with the Edicule depicted as restored in 1555; to the left, the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, with the Convent, and the Church of the Holy Archangels below, upper right is the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque. Armenian, 17th/18th century



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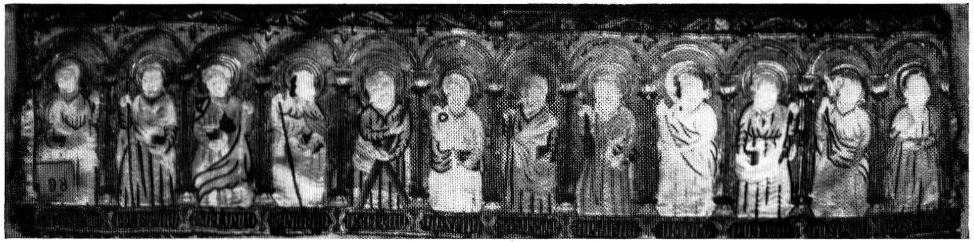

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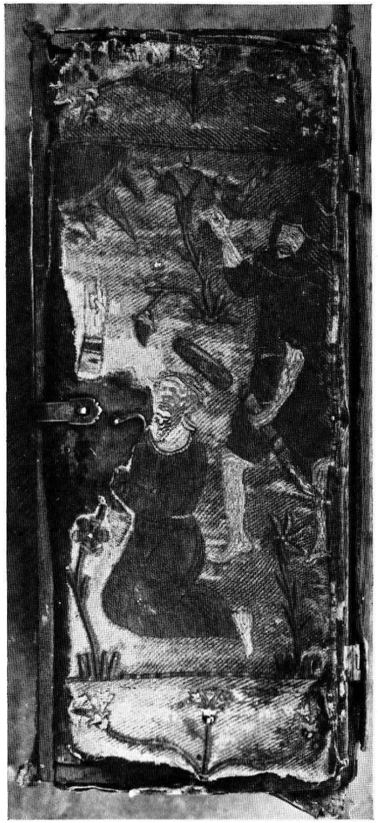
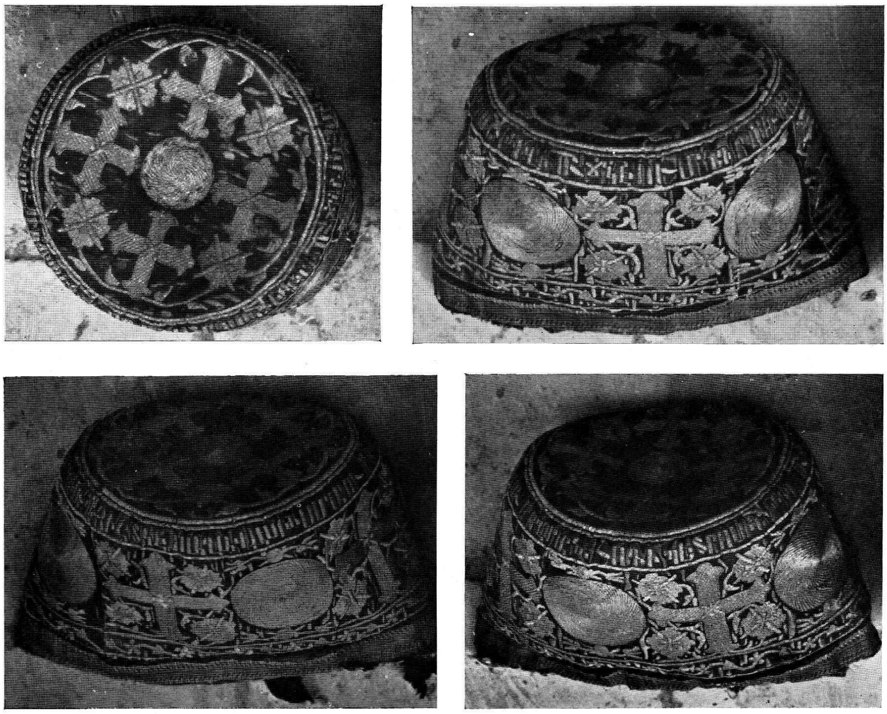


b

THE MUSEUM

a. and *b.* Top and side of a box with an embroidered cover, depicting *The Nativity*, *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Crucifixion*, a *Martyrdom*, and other scenes. Metal clasp. Inscribed in Armenian

c. Strip embroidered with the Twelve Apostles, *Bartholomew*, *Philip*, *Thomas*, *James*, *Andrew*, *Peter*, *John*, *James*, *Simon*, *Thaddaeus*, *Matthew*, and *Matathias*, with their names below, in Armenian



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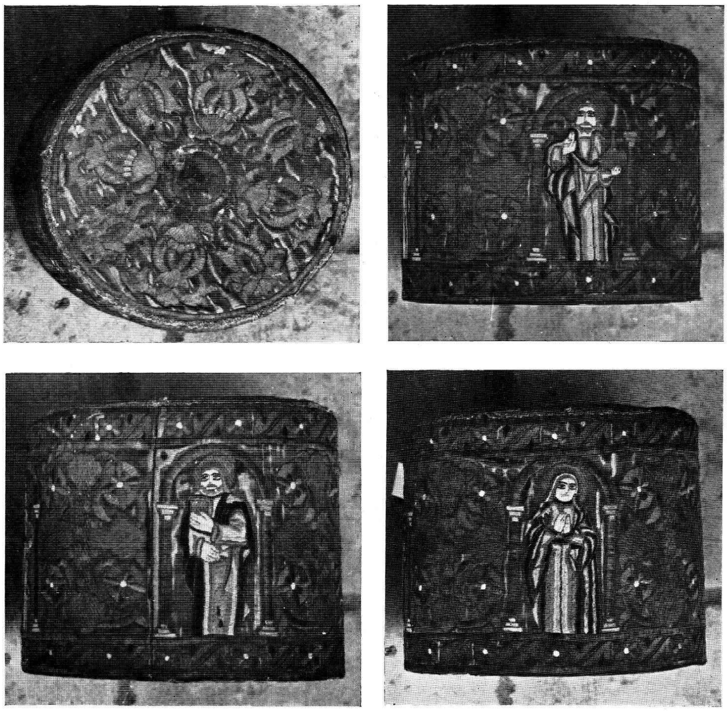
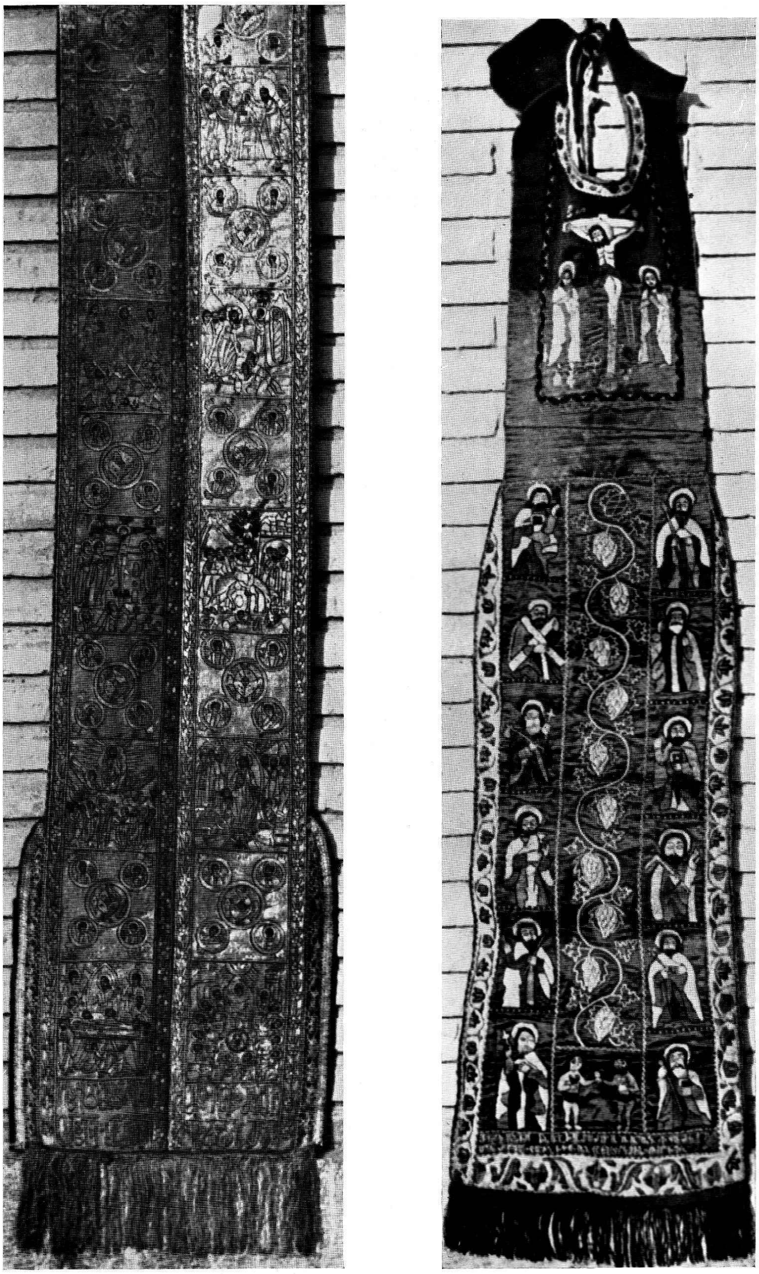


b

THE MUSEUM

a. Embroidered cap, inscribed and dated 1718 A.D., in Armenian *b*. Embroidered cap

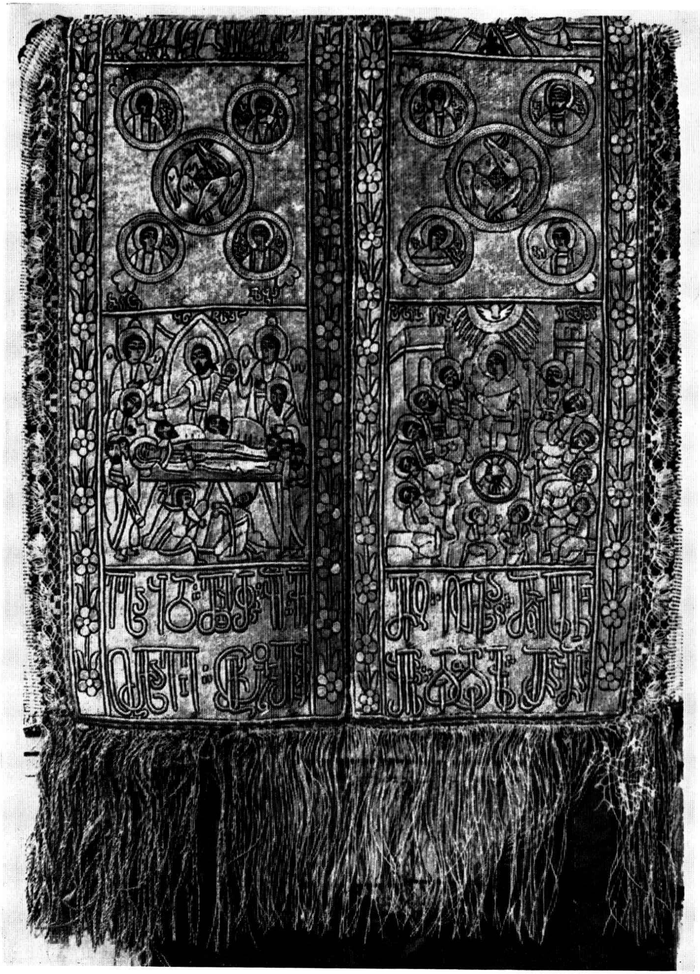


a *b*

THE MUSEUM

a. Stole, embroidered in gold and silver thread, with *Saints*, *Angels*, and scenes from the *New Testament*; inscribed in Georgian

b. Stole, velvet embroidered with *The Crucifixion*, the *Twelve Apostles*, *Adam and Eve*, and an Armenian inscription, dated 1775 A.D.



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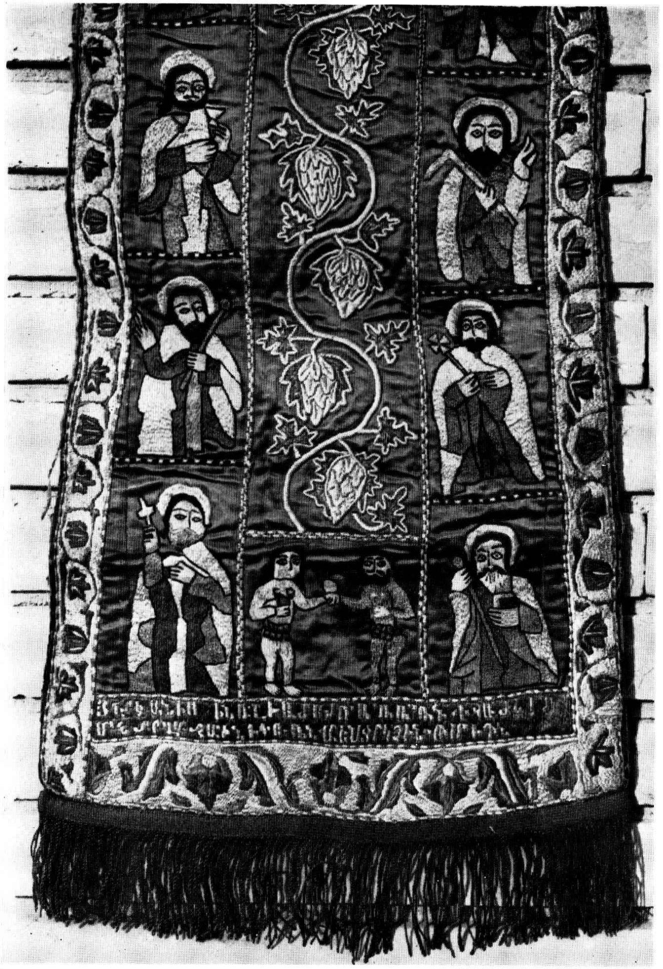
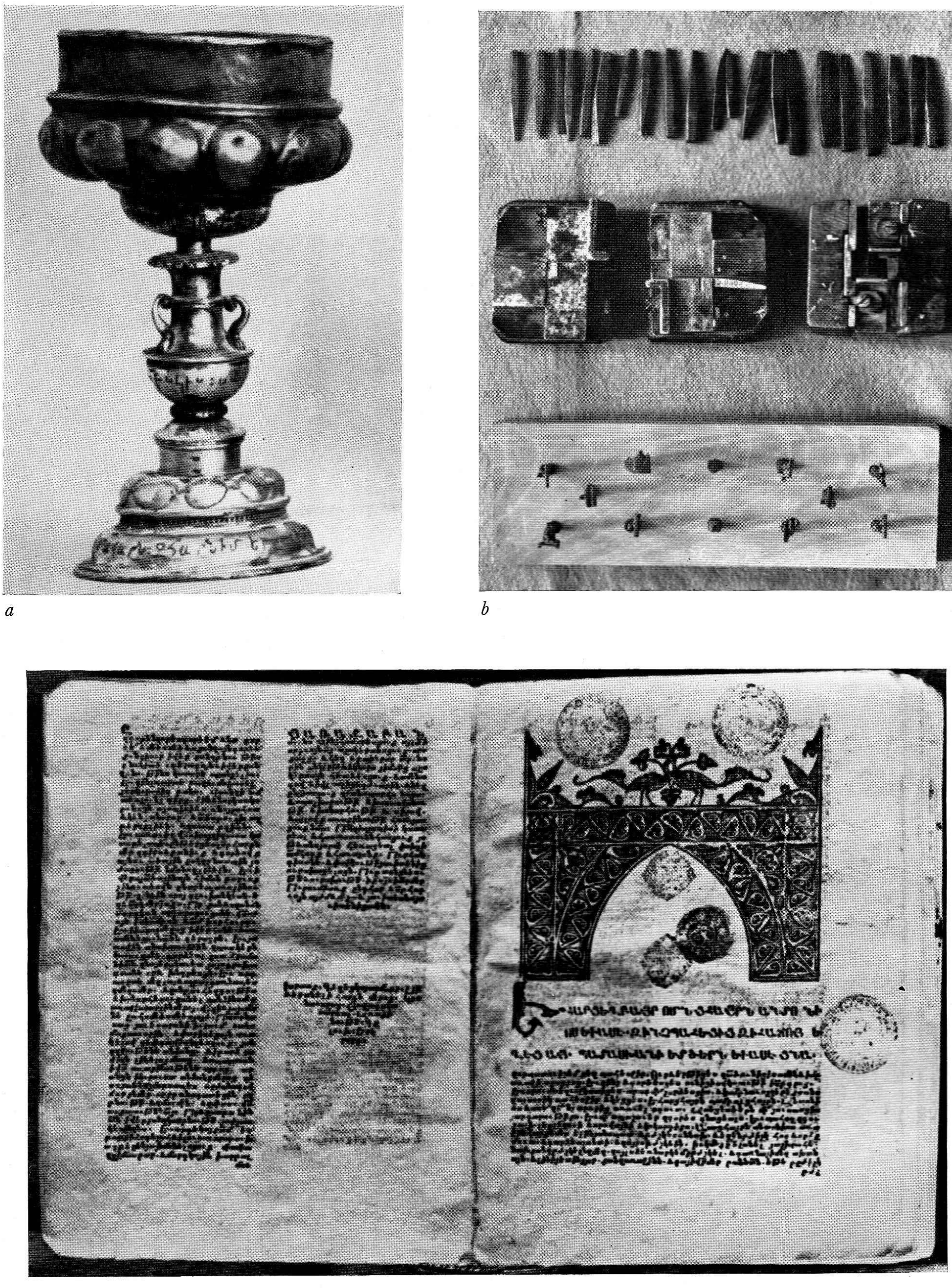


b

THE MUSEUM

a Detail of embroidered stole (*Plate 88*) with Georgian inscription

b. Detail of embroidered stole (*Plate 88*) with Armenian inscription, 1775 A.D.

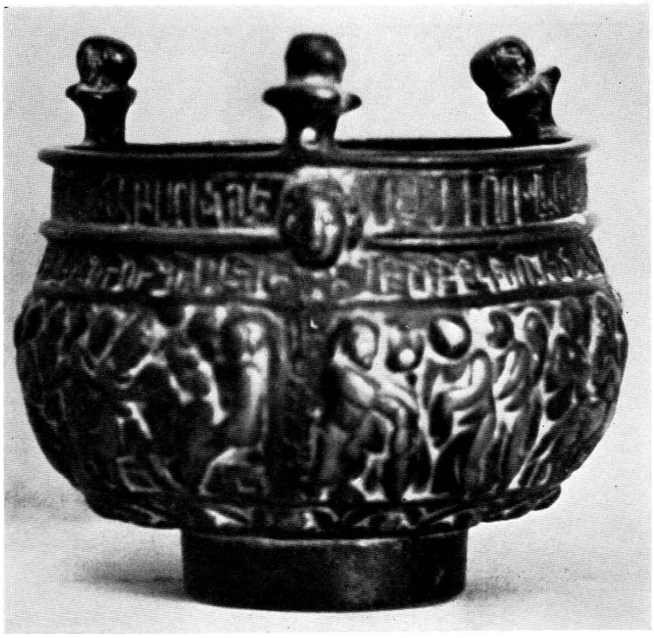


THE MUSEUM

a. Metal chalice, inscribed in Armenian

b. Wood and metal matrices, and metal punches, for casting Armenian characters

c. The first Armenian book printed in Julfa, by Vardapet Khatchatur; *Lives of the Fathers*, 1641 A.D.



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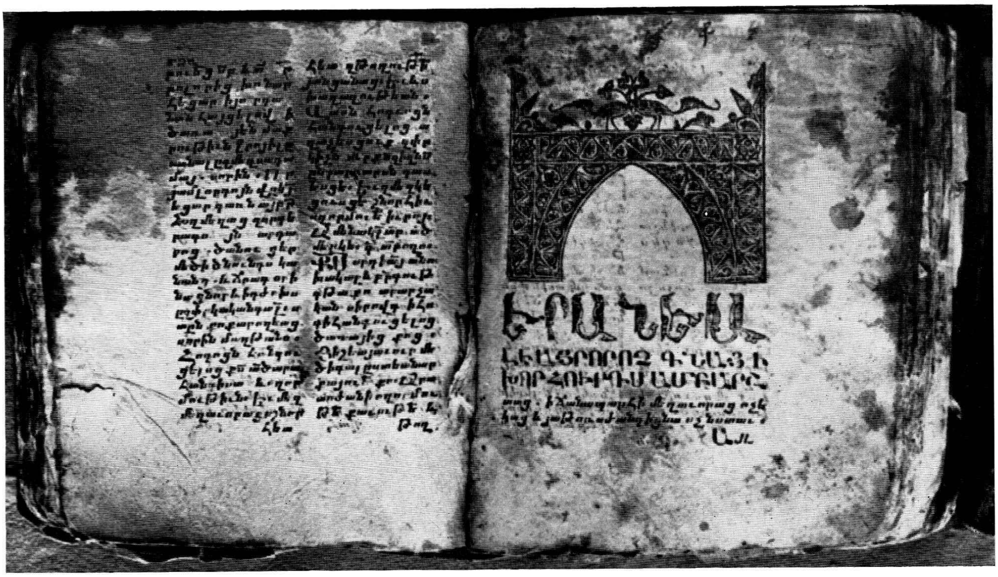
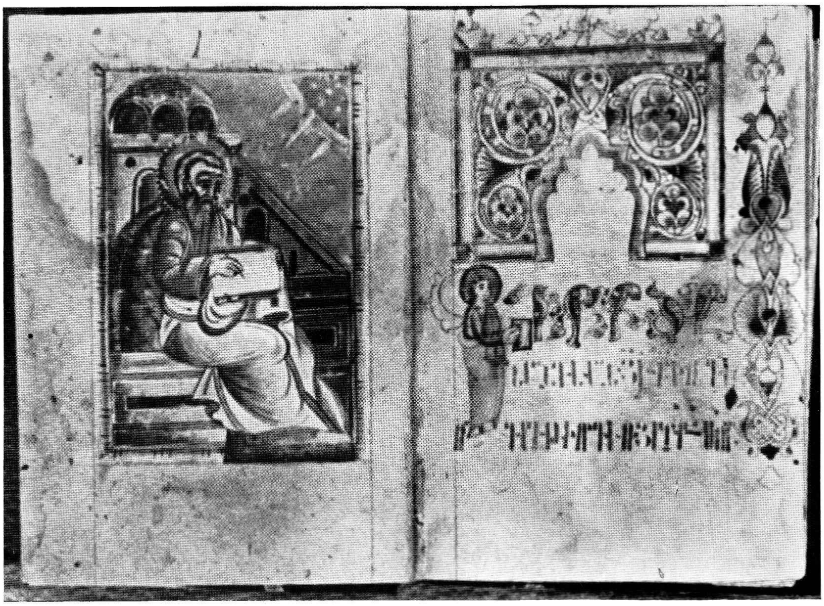


b

THE MUSEUM

a. Cast metal censer, inscribed in Armenian and dated 1646 A.D.
b. The second Armenian book printed in Julfa, a *Service Book* (Žamagirkʻ Ateni), 1642 A.D.



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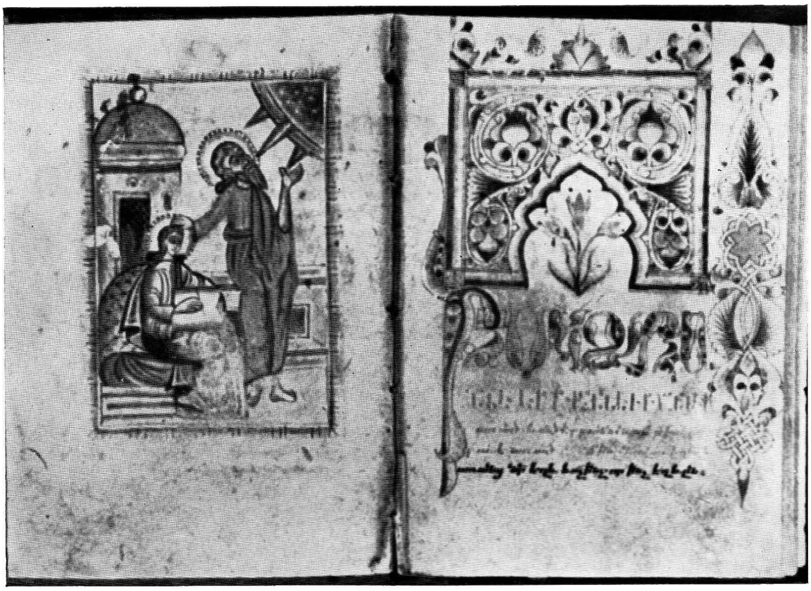
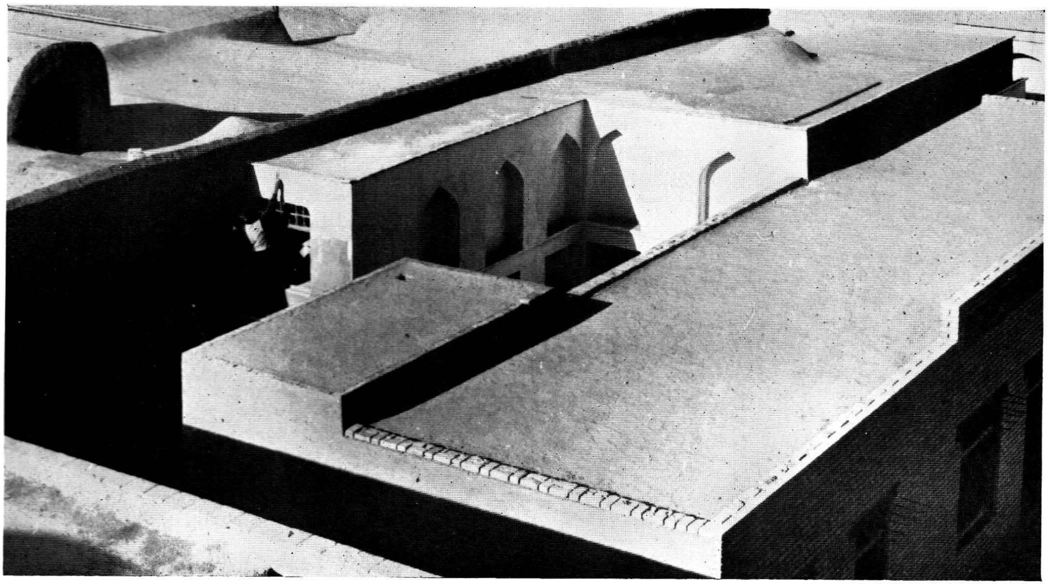


b

THE MUSEUM

a. and *b.* MS. no. 594; illuminated pages with pictures of the Evangelists; dated 1654 A.D.



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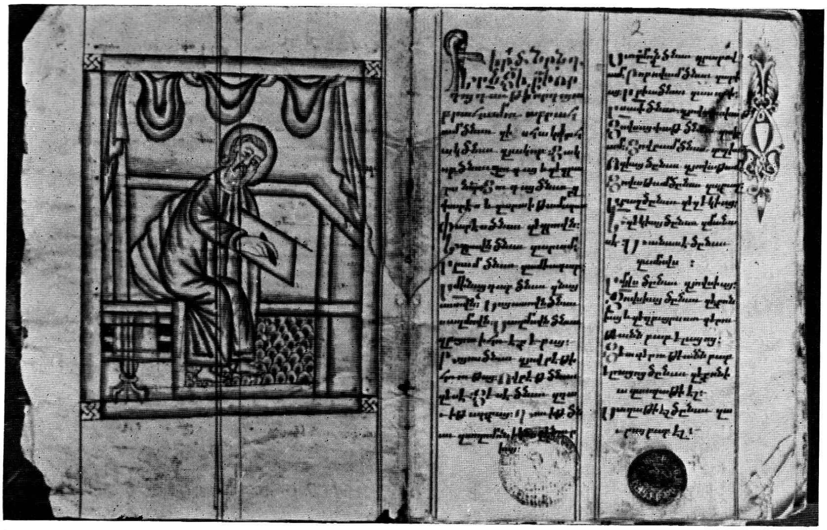
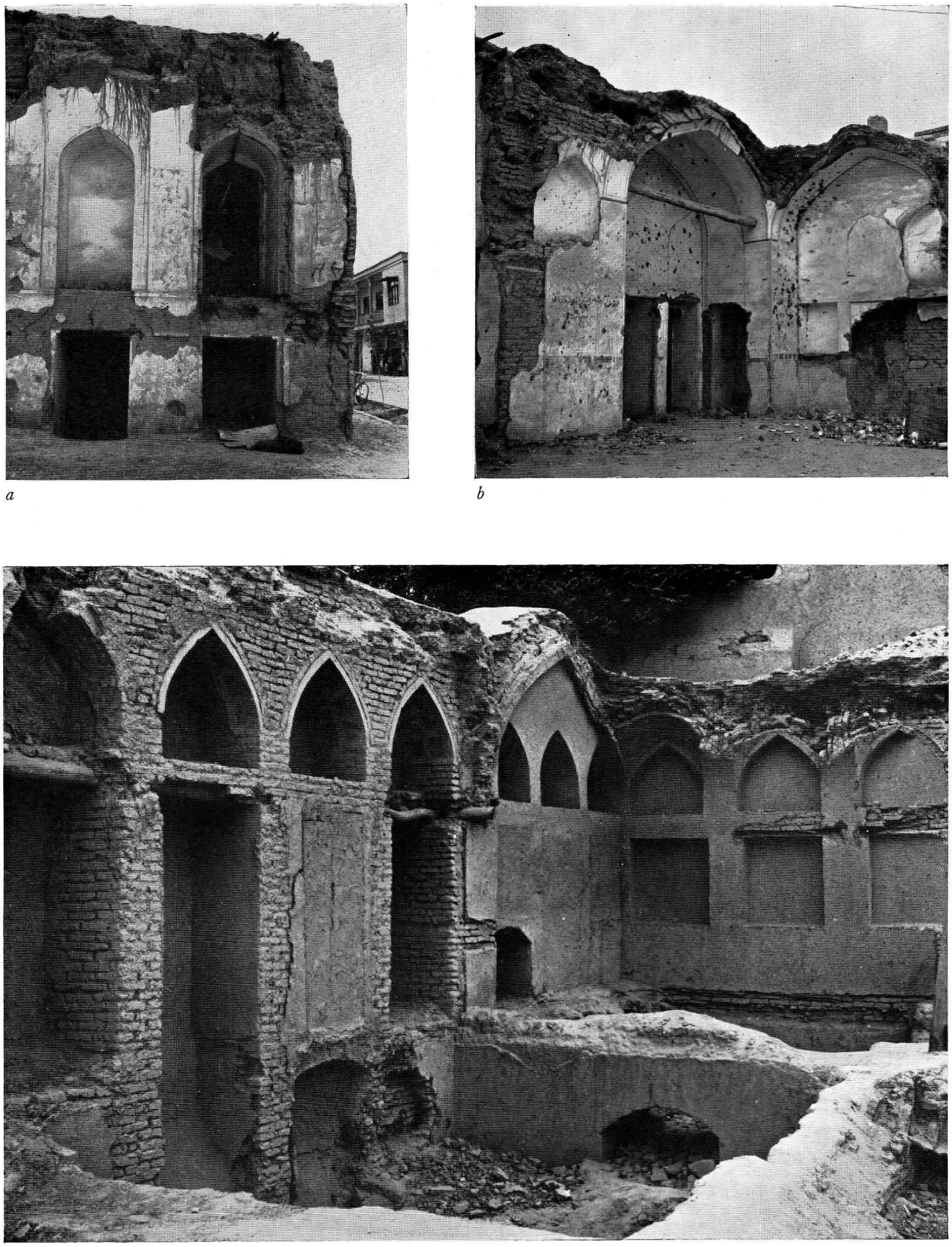


b

a. Plastering the exterior of a new house in Julfa, built in 1965 in the traditional style
b. The museum; MS. no. 42, dated 1651 A.D.



a

b

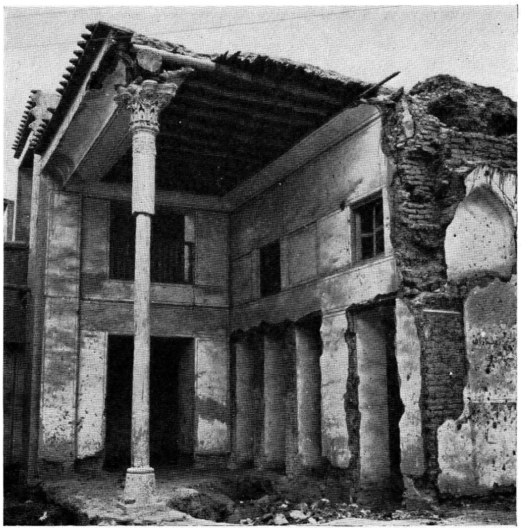
c

JULFA remains of demolished houses in Avenue Hakim Nezamy

a. The springing of three pointed arches, with curved vaults between them

b. The springing of a pendentive, supported by two pointed arches

c. The basic wall structure for supporting curved vaults between pointed arches; note the internal wooden tie-beams and the use of differently angled mud-bricks



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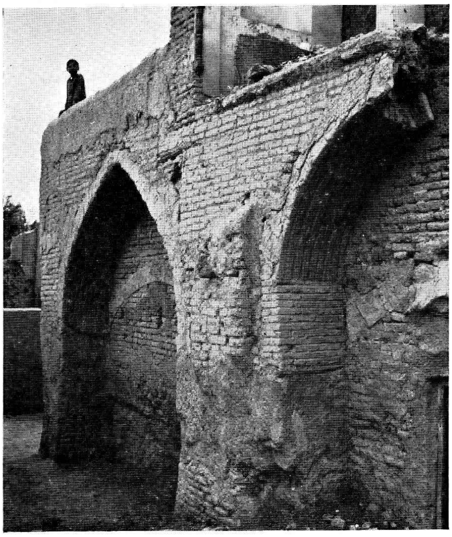

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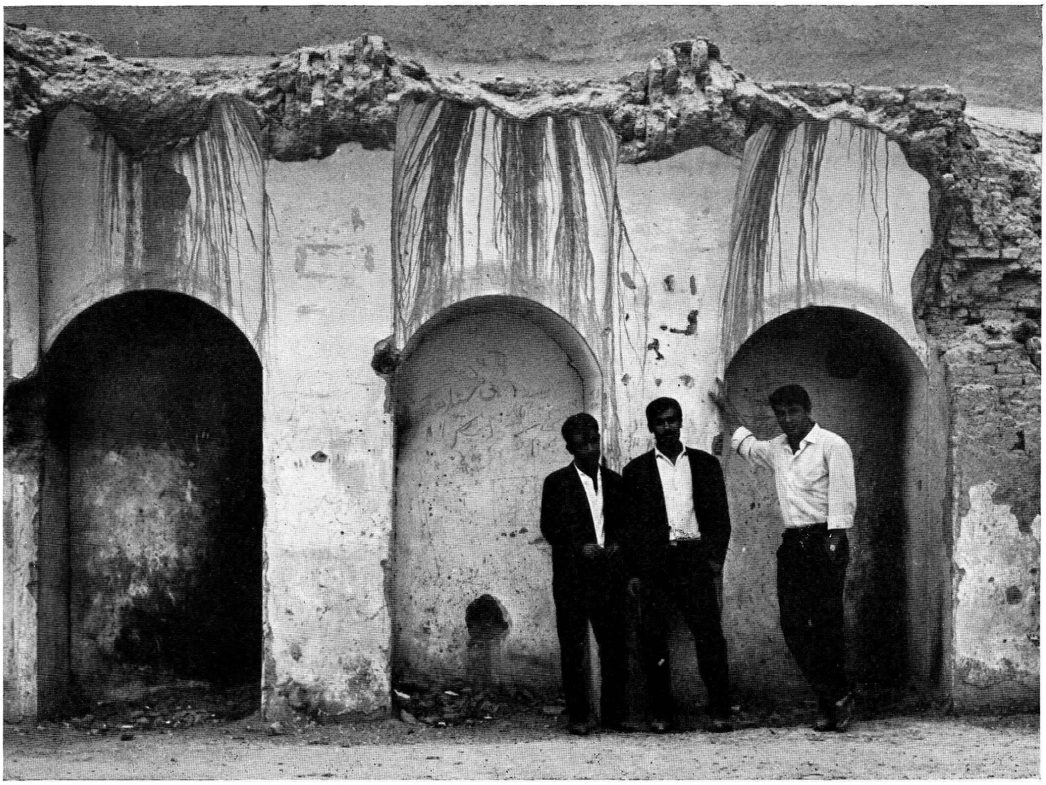


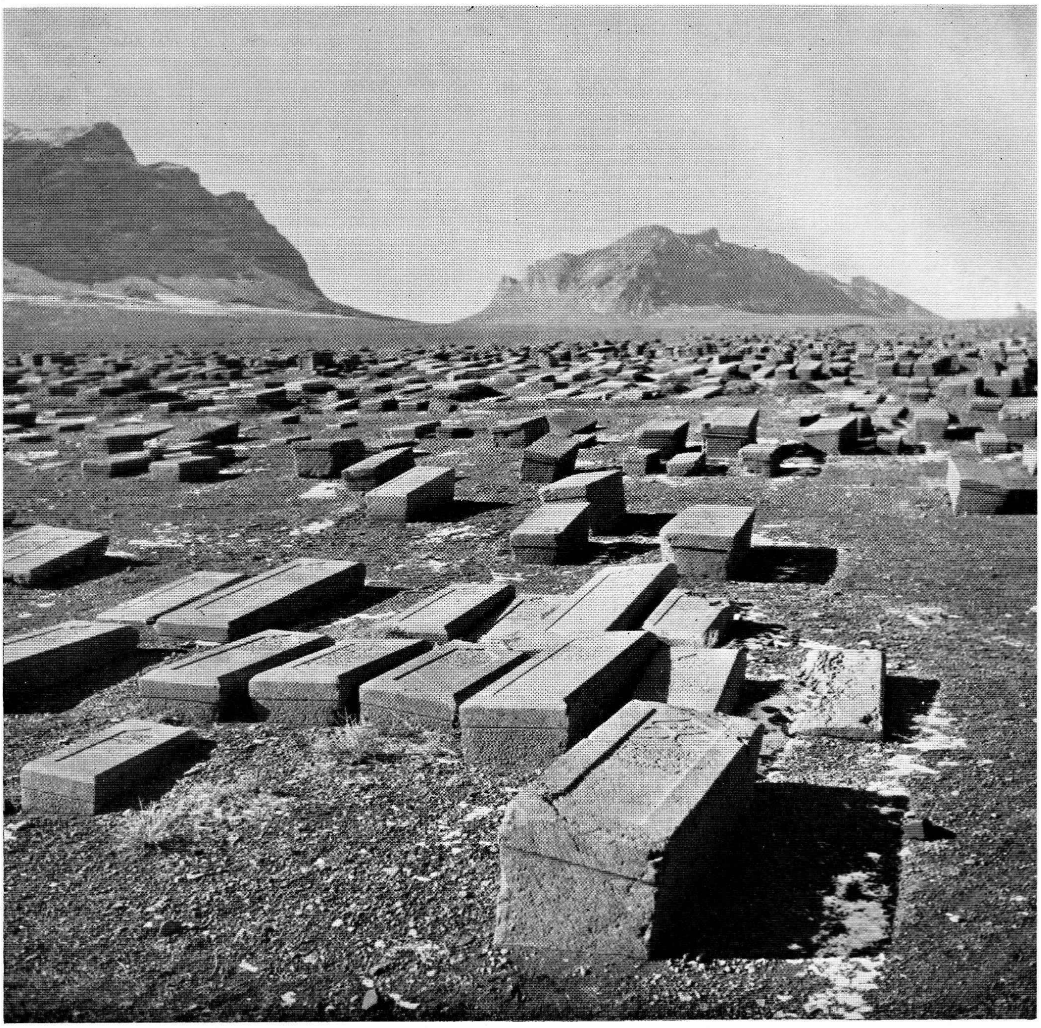
c

JULFA remains of demolished houses

a. Roof and wall construction, and the wooden core of a decorative pillar

b. Mud-bricks laid lengthwise to form pointed arches

c. The springing of three curved vaults with their supporting arches



THE JULFA CEMETERY to the south of the town